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NOTICE

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of Members of Associate Societies is published for information.

Rule 105 :—Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branches and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-resident Members, and to attend the Meeting of the Society other than Special General Meetings; and in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.

S. SRIKANTAYA
General Secretary and Treasurer

The Mythic Society

BANGALORE-2.

The General Secretary requests that :

(1) Every member will kindly introduce at least one friend to the Society during the current year and thus help to popularise the work of the Society.

(2) Members who can afford it will help to build up a Capital Fund by converting their ordinary membership into life membership.

(3) Members who have not yet remitted their subscriptions will kindly remit them on receipt of this issue of the Journal.

(4) Members will be so good as to send us odd copies of Nos. 1 to 4 of Volumes VI, VIII and IX of the QJMS. If they so desire they will be paid for at Rs. 1-8-0 each issue.

CONTENTS

PAGES

Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society ... 205—211

The Family of Arikēsarin, Patron of Pampa
By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A. ... 212—228

Kashmir Shaivism
By J. Rudrappa, M.A., LL.B. ... 229—238

The Diffusion Theory
By Philip Spratt ... 239—252

Yearly Records of the Mission of Caruar
Written By Father P. F Francis Xavier of St. Anne. Translated By S. Silva ... 253—257

A Bibliography of the Published Material of the People of the North-Eastern Frontier of India
By Sibadas Chaudhuri ... 258—269

Largest Provincial Organisations in Ancient India
By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A. ... 270—286

Reviews: ... 287—300
Ethnography of Ancient India—S.S. (287—289); The Aboriginal Races of India—S.S. (289-298); The Mahābhārata-Critical Edition; S'āntiparvan. Mōkṣadharma part 3, Fascicule 24 and Drōṇaparvan part 1, Fascicule 25—A.V.R. (298-300).

WHAT OTHERS SAY OF US

I am well aware of the standing and importance of your Society and its contribution to the cultural studies in our country. I know your journal is a mine of information on a variety of subjects dealing with culture.

The Honourable
Dr. P.V. RAJAMANNAR
Chief Justice of Madras.

The

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Vol. XLV] APRIL 1955 [No. 4

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Wednesday, the 19th of January 1955 at 5-30 P.M.

THE Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held on Wednesday, the 19th of January 1955 at 5-30 P.M. at the Daly Memorial Hall.

Rājadharmaprasakta Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, President of the Society was in the Chair.

The Chairman called on the General Secretary and Treasurer, Sri S. Srikantaya to read the Annual Report and the Statement of Accounts for the year ending 30th June 1954.

Sri S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary and Treasurer, then read the following Annual Report for 1953-1954:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1953-1954

The Committee of the Mythic Society has great pleasure to present the report of the Society for the year ending 30th June 1954.

We wish to record the *Mahābrasthāna* (the great passing away) of that highly evolved soul, the Jagadguru of Sringeri, His Holiness Sri Sri Sri Chandrasekhara Bharati Svamigalavaru.

who in renouncing the world and becoming a sanyasin and by his piety, deep learning, profound scholarship and exposition of Vedāntic thought, rendered valuable divine service for the cause of humanity and attained supreme bliss.

Her Highness the Maharani of Bharatpur, sister of our Patron, His Highness Sri Jaya Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, passed away on the 26th of July 1954 and we tender our respectful condolences to His Highness the Mahārāja of Bharatpur and the members of His Royal Family and to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore and the members of the Mysore Royal Family.

We deeply regret to record the death of the following members of the Society: Dr. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar of Madras and Dr. Sailewara Sen of the Andhra University.

Lectures: The following lectures were delivered: 'Yoga and Western Psychology' by Svami Yatisvaranandaji on 7-9-1953; 'The Essence of the Gita' by Sri S. Ramachandra Rao on 16-12-1953; 'The Diffusion Theory' by Sri Philip Spratt on 10-3-1954; 'The Sholigas of the Biligiri Rangan Hills' by Sri D. Krishna Iyengar on 7-4-1954; 'Kashmir S'aivism' by Sri J. Rudrappa on 28-4-1954; 'Lord Mahaveera' by Sri K. S. Dharanendriah on 3-5-1954; 'Lord Basavesvara' by Rājasevaprasakta Sri Masti Venkatesa Iyengar on 5-5-1954; 'Sri Sankaracharya' by Sri S. Srikantaya on 7-5-1954; 'The Meaning of Life According to Buddhism' by Rajadharmaprasakta Sri A.S.R. Chari on 19-5-1954; and 'Sri Rāmānuja and Vaiṣṇavism,' by Sri M. Yamunacharya on 26-6-1954.

Membership: The strength in our membership continues to be affected by the disturbed conditions of the times. There were on our rolls 296 members and subscribers as against 286 in the previous year. We trust it will be possible for us to augment our membership. We appeal to members to introduce new members to the Society and to assist us in continuing our work satisfactorily. Members who can afford, are requested kindly to contribute to the Capital Fund by converting their ordinary membership into Life-Membership and also by making liberal donations.

Finance: The total receipts of the Society including an opening balance of Rs. 3-4-6 were Rs. 7,818-8-5 as against Rs. 6,592-8-9 in the previous year. The total expenditure was Rs. 7,469-6-6 as against Rs. 7,018-2-9 in the previous year. Books of the value of Rs. 296-12-0 were added to the Library and extra expenditure (postage, stationery and printing) was incurred in connection with the several lectures delivered during the year. The Reserve Fund stood at Rs. 14,800-0-0. The amount in the Staff Provident Fund showed a closing balance of Rs. 796-4-2 invested in the Mysore Government Savings Bank Account at the State Huzur Treasury, Bangalore.

The Government of Mysore have been pleased to renew the General Grant of Rs. 200-0-0 per month for year 1954-55. A Library Grant of Rs. 300-0-0 was made for year 1953-54. The monthly maintenance Grant of Rs. 50-0-0 and the Annual Grant of Rs. 300-0-0 from the Civil Station which were stopped have not been restored yet and representations continue to be made for the restoration of these Grants. The reduction of these grants have seriously affected our resources and our activities. We respectfully appeal to the Government of Mysore to augment our resources and enhance the present grant of Rs. 200-0-0 per month to at least Rs. 500-0-0 a month on a permanent basis so that we may be enabled to carry on cultural and historical research and other allied activities without constant and continued financial embarrassments. The rise in the postal rates and cost of maintenance of the premises tell very heavily on our slender resources.

We appeal to public philanthropy to lend support to our activities and endeavours. Funds are required for getting bound a large number of rare and valuable books and periodicals, to purchase recent as well as rare publications, to provide a suitable building for the ever-growing library and to bring the catalogue of the Library up-to-date.

Library: The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books on subjects pertaining to the objects of the Society.

Scholars from all parts of India and the world resort to the Society's library for study and research. Valuable periodicals and reports of archæological and epigraphical departments are being acquired. We appeal to all persons interested in our work to present our library with books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research. We are obliged to the Government of India, the several Government of the different States in India, *viz.* Mysore, Baroda, Madhya Bharat and Travancore-Cochin; The Universities of Mysore, Calcutta, Annamalai, Allahabad and Travancore; and to various authors, editors, and publishers for their kind patronage and for sending their publications for review in "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society." 124 books were added to the library during the year as against 247 in the previous year. Out of these 124 books, 35 books were purchased at a cost of Rs. 339-11-6, 40 books of the value of Rs. 191-2-6 and the remaining 49 books whose prices have not been mentioned were received as presentation copies and copies for review in "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society." 367 books were consulted in the Library and 219 books were borrowed by scholars in connection with their research work. A sum of Rs. 65-12-0 was spent on binding old books.

Free Reading Room: The number of visitors to the Free Reading Room continues to be steady as usual. During the year under report 3,729 visitors made use of the Free Reading Room as against 2,979 in the previous year. Daily and weekly papers and monthly periodicals are placed on the table. Important periodicals are bound and made available to the visitors also who make use of them. The subscription for papers and periodicals paid during the year was Rs. 202-8-6 as against Rs. 222-10-0 in the previous year.

Journal: Our attempt to bring "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society" up-to-date was successful. During the year under review six issues of "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society" was published. The Journal continued to maintain the high standard set for it by its promoters.

Exchanges: Amongst our exchanges are included most of the leading periodicals of the world dealing with subjects in which the Society is interested. The value of periodicals received in exchange during the year amounted to Rs 769-0-4.

Daly Memorial Hall: The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises continue to be maintained in good condition. The Hall is in constant demand and several departments of the Government of Mysore and public institutions held their proceedings in the Daly Memorial Hall. The Industrial Tribunal continues to hold its sittings in the Daly Memorial Hall.

General: We heartily congratulate Bharata Ratna Dr. Sir C. V. Raman on the distinction bestowed on him by the President of the Republic of India.

Sardar Dr. K. M. Panikkar, Member, States Re-organisation Commission, Dr. D. Seyfort Ruegg of the Paris University and Sri T. T. Sharman, Officer-in-charge, History of the Freedom Movement in Mysore, also consulted the books in the Library of the Society in connection with their research work.

The Society is making itself useful to the public by making available to them the services of the Society and its Library for research in Indology.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to our Patron, His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, to the Government of Mysore, the various Governments of other States and to the Government of India for their continued patronage, sympathy and support.

* * * * *

Sri M. B. Narasimha Iyengar suggested that the acknowledgment of books and periodicals may be made in "The Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society" and that a suggestion book be opened to afford an opportunity to distinguished visitors to record therein their impressions of the Mythic Society. Sri J. Rudrappa observed that several Governments in India may be requested again to send the Society their publications dealing with the aims

and objects of the Mythic Society for being kept in the library. These suggestions were accepted.

Adoption of the Report

The President proposed that the Report and the Audited Statement of Accounts presented by the General Secretary and Treasurer be adopted. Capt. Rao Bahadur A. Thangavelu Mudaliar seconded and the proposition was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Election of the President

Rājasēvaprasakta Sri R. N. Mirza, proposed that Rājadharmaprasakta Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar be re-elected President of the Society for the coming year. Seconded by Sri J. Rudrappa, Rājadharmaprasakta Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar was unanimously re-elected President.

Election of Office-bearers

Proposed by Rājasēvaprasakta Sri R. N. Mirza and Seconded by Sri S. Nanjundaswamy the following Office-bearers were elected for the year 1954-55 :

Vice-President :

Rājasabhābhūshana Diwan Bahadur
Sri K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar

General Secretary and Treasurer :

Sri S. Srikantaya

Editor :

Sri S. Srikantaya

Branch Secretaries :

For History : The Reverend Father C. A. Browne
For Anthropology : Dr. S. S. Sarkar

Members of the Committee :

The above *ex-officio* and Sriyuts :

Rājasēvaprasakta A. N. Raghavachar
Capt. Rao Bahadur A. Thangavelu Mudaliar
Dr. K. N. V. Sastri
V. T. Tirunarayana Iyengar
B. V. Patankar

* * * * *

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

The Chairman in a short speech appealed to the members to evince greater interest in the activities of the Society. The question of finance was still a great problem to solve and the Society was trying its best to improve its finances. He thanked the General Secretary and Treasurer, Sri S. Srikantaya, who was taking very keen and active interest and remarked that it was but right to say that he was identified with the Mythic Society.

With Three Cheers to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Patron of the Mythic Society, the meeting terminated.

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PROF. SRI P.V. RAMANUJASWAMI, M.A.
Director, Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute
Tirupati, Chittoor District (Dakshina Bharath).

THE
FAMILY OF ARIKESARIN, PATRON OF PAMPA

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

THE celebrated Kannaḍa poet Pampa has sung the praise of his patron Arikēsarin of the Cālukya family in his work *Vikramārjunavijaya*. He has not, however, traced any connection between the family of Arikēsarin and any other known branch of the Cālukya family. Though some inscriptions, both on copper plates and stone, were secured since the publication of this work they do not help us in tracing any definite relationship between this family and the other known Cālukya families. Some scholars, however, would identify Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla, the first known member of the family [1] with king Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla, the brother of S'ryās'raya S'īlāditya of the Gujarāt Cālukya family. The identification rests entirely on two factors, *viz.* that both had the same name and title and secondly, that they approximately lived at the same period although no satisfactory explanation has been offered as to how a prince of Gujarāt happened to establish a kingdom of which Pōdana (*i.e.* Bōdhan) in Hyderabad territory was a prominent city. In fact, the identification is not possible. For, as will be shown below, Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Vēmulavāḍa family cannot be placed earlier than 750 A.D. whereas the last date of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Gujarāt Cālukya branch is known to be not later than 738 A.D.

No dated records of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Vēmulavāḍa family or of any of his successors are available until we come to the time of Arikēsarin II, the patron of the Kannaḍa poet Pampa who wrote his work *Ādipurāṇa* in 941 A.D. That in 959 A.D. Baddega, the son of Arikēsarin II was ruling is known

1. The Kollipara plates (*Bhārati*, Vol. VII, pt. ii, pp. 297 ff.) mention a few ancestors of Yuddhamalla. But as the grant is spurious no notice is taken here of the names.

from the colophon of *Yas'astilaka* of Sōmadēva.[2] Narasiṁha II, the father of Arikēsarin II, is described as having vanquished Mahīpāla who is known to have been on the throne in 914 A.D. This same Narasiṁha is also described as having married a daughter of King Indra who was in all probability Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (915-927 A.D.). Thus this Narasiṁha's period of rule may be fixed as lying approximately between 910 and 935 A.D. Going back further we do not get any chronological synchronism until we come to the reign of Arikēsarin I who was the fifth ancestor of Narasiṁha II. The former was a contemporary of Dhruva (775-794 A.D.). We have shown that Narasiṁha II might have reigned from 910 to 935 A.D. Between Narasiṁha II and Arikēsarin I five kings reigned; and calculating at the rate of twenty-five years a reign—except in the case of Bhadradēva the younger brother of Narasiṁha to whom a reign of only ten years instead of twenty-five years may be allotted as he succeeded his elder brother, we get one hundred and ten years as the interval between the initial date of Narasiṁha II and the last date of Arikēsarin I. That is to say, we get 800 A.D. (910 *minus* 110) as the last date of Arikēsarin I. Hence in all probability Arikēsarin I ruled from 775 to 800 A.D. His father Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla could thus have risen to power some time about 750 A.D. On the other hand his namesake, the Gujarāt Cālukya prince, must have actually died before 738 A.D. when, we know, his younger brother Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin was ruling. The Manor plates[3] of the former are dated S'aka 613, *i.e.* 691 A.D. indicating that even as early as this year he had come to power. Under these circumstances it is very unlikely that this Gujarāt Cālukya prince, who may be taken to have reigned from at least 690 A.D. to 738 A.D. is identical with Vinayāditya

2. In spite of the fact that a manuscript dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1464 [See *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihas* by Nathu Ram Premi (1942), p. 76], gives Vadyagarâja as the name of the prince and that this name is accepted as correct by a number of scholars including Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Raghavan, it is strange that my esteemed friend Dr. N. Venkataramanayya should stick to the name Vāgarāja (as found in the Nirnayasagar Press edition of *Yas'astilaka*) and create a fictitious brother for Bhadradēva (*Calukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa*, p. 9.). Actually the name Bhadradēva is a Sanskrit variant of Baddega, or Badyaga (Vadyaga).

3. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII. pp. 17ff.

Yuddhamalla whose career, as noted above, could not have started before 750 A.D. Although it is not known under what circumstances he rose to power, the fact that his son Arikēsarin was, as will be shown in the sequel, a subordinate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva would indicate that Yuddhamalla, who is not stated to have owed allegiance to any overlord, took advantage of the confusion during the last days of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi and declared himself independent.

For ready reference the genealogical tree [4] of this family is given below:

Yuddhamalla I
(*C.* 750-775 A.D.)

Arikēsarin I
(*C.* 775-800 A.D.)

Narasiṁha I *alias* Rājāditya (*C.* 800-825 A.D.)	Bhadradēva I (*C.* 825-835 A.D.)

Yuddhamalla II
(*C.* 835-860 A.D.)

Baddega II
(*C.* 860-885 A.D.)

Yuddhamalla III *alias* Staṁbha
(*C.* 885-910 A.D.)

Narasiṁha II *m.* Jākavve
(*C.* 910-935 A.D.)

Arikēsarin II
(941 A.D.)[4a]

Baddega III
(959 A.D.)

Arikēsarin III
(966 A.D.)

4. A Cālukya prince named Viragriha is mentioned in an inscription at Kuruvagaṭṭa in Nagar-Kurnool taluk, Mahabubnagar District, Hyderabad State (Dr. N. Venkaṭaramanayya: *The Cālukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa*, pp. 81 ff.). But as there is nothing to show that he belonged to the Vēmulavāḍa family he is not given a place in this genealogy.

4a. In the case of kings for whom we have definite dates only these are given.

We shall now recount the achievements of the members of this family. Both Pampa and the inscriptions praise Yuddhamalla, the first known member of the family, as the most illustrious prince of the line and as ruling the Sapādalakṣa country, which could not be governed by others. Another achievement of this chief which finds special mention both in the inscriptions and in literature is that every day he had hundreds of elephants bathed in tanks filled with oil at Pōdana (Bōdhan). The Parbhaṇi Plates [5] pointedly mention that he indulged in this unusual display at Pōdana as ruler of Sapādalakṣa. The fact that the ruler of Sapādalakṣa had his elephants constantly bathed at Pōdana would indicate that Pōdana was situated in Sapādalakṣa. There is no doubt that Pōdana referred to here is the modern Bōdhan in the Nizamabad District of the Hyderabad State. The view that the Sapādalakṣa territory ruled over by Yuddhamalla I is to be regarded as identical with the S'ākambharī region in Rājasthān [6] is not convincing for various reasons. In the first place when there is actually a territory going by the name of Sapādalakṣa near Bōdhan, the scene of Yuddhamalla's activities, it is unnecessary to look for other Sapādalakṣa territories (a number of territorial divisions whose extent was *sapādalakṣa, i.e.* lakh and a quarter, existed) especially the one in Rājasthān which is nearly 600 miles away from Bōdhan. Inscriptional evidence showing the existence of a division called Sapādalakṣa round about Bōdhan is available. An inscription of the eleventh century of the time of Vikramāditya VI at Vēmulavāḍa in the Karimnagar district says that a feudatory chief named Rājāditya was ruling Kāsavaḷaṁ Savalakkhe (*i.e.* Sapādalakṣa) and other divisions from the *rājadhāni* of Lēmbuḷavāḍa, *i.e.* Vēmulavāḍa.[7] It is therefore clear that Sapādalakṣa was a territory that was within easy reach of Vēmulavāḍa which was quite close to the city of Bōdhan situated in the adjacent

5. G. H. Khare : *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan,* : Vol. II, p. 49, Text Verse 3.

6. *Journal of the Madras University* : Vol. XV. No 2. p 110.

7. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* : 1946-47, No. 159. Incidentally it may be noted that all the inscriptions at this village are either in Kannaḍa or in Sanskrit.

district of Nizamabad. Another inscription,[8] also at Vēmulavāḍa, belonging to the reign of Baddega, while stating that he constructed the *S'ubhadhāma-jinālaya* for Sōmadēva-sūrin of the Gauḷa-Saṅgha, describes Baddega as fifth in descent from Yuddhamalla, the ruler of Sapādalakṣa. The mention of Sōmadēva-sūrin and th *S'ubhadhāma-jinālaya* leaves no doubt that this chief Baddega is identical with his namesake, the father of Arikēsarin III who issued the Parbhaṇi Plates. Thus this Baddega's fifth ancestor Yuddhamalla, the second of that name, was also the ruler of Sapādalakṣa. This fact would show that not only Yuddhamalla I but also Yuddhamalla II, who ruled about 835-860 A.D. *i.e.* about a century later than the first Yuddhamalla, was the lord of Sapādalakṣa. It follows therefore that the territory of Sapādalakṣa continued to be in the possession o[f] the members of the family even in the succeeding centuries. Hence it is all the more unlikely that the members of this family had any connection with S'ākambharī in Rājasthān. It is thus evident that the Sapādalakṣa over which the family ruled was situated in the vicinity of Bōdhan and Vēmulavāḍa in the Hyderabad State. This conclusion arrived at by means of epigraphical evidence is strengthened by literary evidence also. S'rutasāgara, the commentator on *Yas'astilaka-Campū*, explains the term *As'mantaka* as *Sapādalakṣa parvata-nivāsin.*[9] *As'mantaka* is evidently not different from *As'maka* which, it is well-known, was situated in the Hyderabad State with its capital at Paudana, *i.e.* Bōdhan. That this territory was equated with Sapādalakṣa by S'rutasāgara is further proof in support of the existence of a Sapādalakṣa territory round about Bōdhan. As pointed out by me elsewhere [10] it should have comprised at least the central and eastern portions of the present Hyderabad State. In the face of these facts one need not postulate the theory that Yuddhamalla I conquered the Sapādalakṣa, *i.e.* S'ākambharī in Rājasthān, as

8. *An. Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy* : 1946-47. No. 158 reviewed on p. 4 of the *Report*.

9. *Yas'astilaka-Campū* (Kāvyamālā No. 70, Nirnayasagar Edition, 1916), Book I, p. 288.

10. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 39 ff.

a general of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. It should also be noted that nowhere is it stated that Dantidurga ever conquered Sapāda-lakṣa as such or that Yuddhamalla was his general. It is also doubtful if the S'ākambharī region was known as Sapādalakṣa in the time of Yuddhamalla I, *i.e.* in the middle of the eighth century.

Another important exploit of this ruler was his conquest of Citrakūṭa which is described in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription as a natural fortress (*svabhāva-durga*). This fort has been considered as identical with Citorgarh in Rājasthān.[11] This identification was believed to strengthen the surmise that Sapādalakṣa over which the chief held sway was the S'ākambharī region in Rājasthān. But, as shown above, there is no need to connect the S'ākambharī region with Sapādalakṣa, the kingdom of Yuddhamalla. Consequently, it is unnecessary to regard the fort of Citrakūṭa captured by Yuddhamalla as identical with Citorgarh in Rājasthān. On the other hand, it is more likely that the Citrakūṭa mentioned in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription is Citrakūṭa near Kālañjar in Bundelkhand.

Of his son Arikēsarin I, the Vēmulavāḍa inscription tells us that even as a boy he wrested Vēṅgī and ruled the earth.[12] The Parbhaṇi Plates and *Vikramārjunavijaya* give the additional information that he took Vēṅgī along with Trikaliṅga. That these events took place in the reign of Nirupama, *i.e.* Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva, is unequivocally stated in *Vikramārjunavijaya.*[13] The opportunity for these conquests arose apparently when the brothers Gōvinda II and Dhruva were fighting for mastery over their ancestral kingdom. It is well-known that Gōvinda sought the aid of foreign powers, of whom the Vēṅgī ruler was one, to fight against Dhruva. It was evidently in the course of this conflict that the king of Vēṅgī was defeated and his dominion which included Trikaliṅga was wrested by Arikēsarin I on behalf of

11. *Journal of the Madras University*: *Op. cit.* p. 110; see also N. Venkataramanayya—*The Calukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa*: p. 18.

12. See Text below: Verse 5.

13. *Pampa Bhāratam* (Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Parishad Edition, 1931), Book I, p. 4, verse 20.

Dhruva. We know from the Pimpari Plates[14] issued by Dhruva himself that in 775 A.D. he was the ruler of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. Thus the defeat of the confederacy which helped Gōvinda II should have taken place before 775 A.D. Therefore, the statement of the Vēmulavāḍa inscription that Arikēsarin I, who ruled between 775 and 800 A.D. according to the chronology proposed in this paper, captured Vēṅgī even as a boy indicates that he held the reigns of his kingdom while quite young.

Mere conventional praise is bestowed upon the two sons of Arikēsarin I, *viz.* Narasiṁha *alias* Rājāditya and Bhadradēva. So we may pass on to the next ruler Yuddhamalla II, the son of Narasiṁha. Although no exploits of his are recorded anywhere, we have one important detail regarding him. His rule over Sapādalakṣa finds special mention in an inscription of Baddega III who calls himself fifth in descent from this ruler of Sapādalakṣa.[15] The Vēmulavāḍa inscription of Arikēsarin II says of this Yuddhamalla that 'the enemy kings took shelter in forests and caves,' *i.e.* that he was a terror to his enemies.[16]

Baddega II, the son of this Yuddhamalla II appears to have been a very powerful figure among the rulers of the family. He is described as having obscured the fame of Kārtavīrya in prowess,[17] and in fact he had the significant title *Sōladagaṇḍa*,[18] meaning the unvanquished hero. True to his title he was victorious in forty-two battles and captured a powerful king named Bhīma in battle as a crocodile would seize its prey in water.[19] Bhīma has been identified with Cālukya Bhīma I of Vēṅgī who was crowned in 892 A.D.[20] According to our chronology, Baddega ruled from 860 to 885 A.D. but as we have assigned to each ruler of the Vēmulavāḍa family a reign of twenty-five years only on an average it is not impossible that Baddega ruled for a few years more and thus

14. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 81 ff.
15. *An. Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy*, 1946-47, No. 158.
16. See Text below; Verse 6.
17. G. H. Khare: *Op. cit.* p. 49, verse 8.
18. *Journal of the Madras University*: *Op. cit.* p. 115.
19. G. H. Khare: *Op. cit.* p. 49 verse 7.
20. *Journal of the Madras University*: *Op. cit.* p. 116.

was a contemporary of Cālukya Bhīma I. He was remembered not only for the might of his arm but also for his liberality in which he is compared to the celestial cow (*Kāmadhēnu*) and the wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpadāru*).

His son was Yuddhamalla III of whom nothing worthy of note has been recorded in any of the accounts of the family. However, one interesting verse in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription of Arikēsarin II seems to imply by *double entendre* that he had the surname of Stambha.[21] The verse says that his son Narasiṁha, the man, was born from *Stambha* just as the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, *i.e.* Narasiṁha, emanated from a pillar (*stambha*). This Narasiṁha is stated to have led many victorious campaigns into far off regions. One of them was against the Lāṭas, an exploit which is referred to only in the *Vikramārjunavijaya*. Since no specific mention of any ruler of Lāṭa is made in the work it is not possible to say precisely when he fought the Lāṭas or who his Lāṭa adversaries were. In this context we may note that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa II compelled his enemies with the leaders of their armies to abandon Khēṭaka.[22] Khēṭaka is the well-known Kaira in Lāṭa and Kṛṣṇa II had evidently some enemies there, in driving out whom Narasiṁha might have assisted his overlord. Both *Vikramārjunavijaya* and the Vēmulavāḍa inscription credit him with victories in the Seven Mālavas, *i.e.* Mālwā comprising seven divisions. The inscription says that Narasiṁha subjugated the seven kings who surrendered after being defeated in battle. A more graphic account of his campaign in Mālava is given by Pampa who says that he reduced to ashes large areas in the Seven Mālavas. The actual date of this event cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty. We know, however, that both Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III invaded Mālava. Since Kṛṣṇa's attack on Ujjain is mentioned in the Bagumrā Plates of 888 A.D.[23] of prince Kṛṣṇa of

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21. See Text below: Verse 7.

22. See Verse 16 of the Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV; *Ep. Ind*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

23. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 65 ff.

the Gujarāt branch of this family, Narasiṁha who flourished between 910 and 935 A.D. cannot be connected with this exploit. Therefore, it is likely that Narasiṁha accompanied Indra III to Mālava when the latter fought Upēndrarāja, [24] who has been identified with Kṛṣṇarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Mālava. Narasiṁha's third and the last campaign we know of was directed against the Gūrjaras. The Vēmulavāḍa inscription says that when the mighty army of the Gūrjara composed of several battalions commanded by a multitude of rulers advanced on him, he inflicted on it a crushing defeat and planted a pillar recording his valour at Kāḷapriya. The *Vikramārjunavijaya* discloses the name of his Gūrjara foe as Mahīpāla and gives the additional information that Narasiṁha bathed his horses in the river Gaṅgā. The mention of Mahīpāla, the Gūrjara ruler, helps us in fixing the date of the campaign as lying some time after A.D. 914, the earliest known date of Mahīpāla. From the Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV [25] we know that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III devastated the hostile city of Mahōdaya, *i.e.* Kanyakubja. Evidently Narasiṁha followed his overlord Indra III in his campaign against Mahīpāla, the ruler of Kanyakubja. The identification of Kāḷapriya where Narasiṁha erected a pillar of fame is uncertain. Kāḷapriya is mentioned in the Cambay Plates which say that the elephants of Indra III disfigured the courtyard of Kāḷapriya. Dr. Bhandarkar has identified this Kāḷapriya with the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjain. If the Kāḷapriya associated with Narasiṁha's campaign is the same as the Kāḷapriya mentioned in the Cambay Plates, it would be Ujjain according to the identification suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar. However, some scholars are inclined to identify the Kāḷapriya mentioned in both the accounts with Kālpi on the Jumnā in Uttar Pradesh. [26] But no record, either epigraphical or literary, calls Kālpi by the name of Kāḷapriya. Until more substantial evidence is forthcoming in support of this latter identification it is difficult to say which of the two places, Ujjain or Kālpi is the Kāḷapriya in question.

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24. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 32 ; text-lines 40-41.
25. *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 38 ; text-line 22.
26. N. Venkataramanayya : *The Calukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa*, p. 29 fn.

Of the next king Arikēsarin II we learn from the Vēmulavāḍa inscription that he offered refuge to Bijja when he came to him for protection fleeing from the wrath of Gōvindarāja who became angry with Bijja for killing the respectable Padmyārya and annihilating many generals together with their huge armies of elephants, cavalry and infantry. The identity of Padmyārya is difficult to establish in the present state of our knowledge. That Arikēsarin granted protection to Bijja is also mentioned by Paṁpa who says that Bijja, for whom he gives the fuller name Vijayāditya, was an ornament of the Cāluḳya family. Besides this, Paṁpa says that he put to flight a chief named Bappuva, younger brother of Kakkala, who attacked him. But the most important achievement of Arikēsarin II recorded by Paṁpa is that he dethroned Gōvindarāja and put Baddega, *i.e.* Amōghavarṣa III in his place.[27] There is no difficulty in fixing the approximate date when Arikēsarin deposed Gōvindarāja and enthroned Amōghavarṣa III, and gave shelter to the Cālukya prince Vijayāditya. It is well-known that Gōvindarāja had given himself up to sensuous ways and was on that account deposed. The last date we have for him is 934 A.D. Consequently, all these events except the actual deposition must have taken place about 934 A.D. The parentage or the area of authority of the Cālukya prince Vijayāditya is not specified in the accounts. As there were a number of feudatory Cālukya families administering different parts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire we are not in a position to say with any degree of certitude as to who this prince was. Some scholars consider him to be a scion of the Eastern Cālukya family[28] while one scholar identifies him with a Mudugoṇḍa Cālukya prince of that name.[29] The accounts do not reveal the name of the family to which the brothers Kakkala and Bappuva belonged or where they were ruling. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, however, thinks that Kakkala must be identified with Karkara mentioned in an

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27. *Paṁpa Bhāratham* : (Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Parishad Edition, 1931) p. 234.

28. J. F. Fleet, *Dynastics of the Kanarese Districts* (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. II), p. 381.

29. N. Venkataramanayya. *The Calukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa*, pp. 35, ff. *fn.* 55.

unpublished S'ilāhāra grant as having been overthrown by Amōghavarṣa III.[30]

Besides being a warrior of repute, Arikēsarin II was a handsome and highly accomplished prince. The Vēmulavāḍa inscription says of him that he was well versed in the art of healing elephants like Karēṇuputra, *i.e.* Pālakāpya; and that he was skilful in the art of *kathābandha* (story writing) like Gautama and that he was the abode of all arts.

From the inscriptions and the *Vikramājunavijaya* we learn that he had the following *birudas*: Guṇārṇava, Ārūḍhasarvajña, Udāttanārāyaṇa, Pāṁbarāṅkus'a, Priyagaḷḷa, Tribhuvanamalla, Sāmantacūḍāmaṇi, Jagadēkamalla, Nōḍuttegelvōm and Sāhasārjuna.

According to the Vēmulavāḍa inscription Arikēsarin II married Rēvakanirmaḍī, the daughter of king Indra, *i.e.* Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. The Parbhaṇi Plates say that Lōkāmbikā of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was his wife. We are not sure whether these were two different princesses or were identical. We, however, learn that his son Baddega was born of Lōkāmbikā. One officer of Arikēsarin II named Peddaṇārya figures in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription, which designates him as *Tantrapāla* and states that he was the son of Nāgamārya who was himself the *Tantrādhipa* of king Baddega. This Baddega was apparently the *Soladagaṇḍa* Baddega, the great-grand-father of Arikēsarin II.

One interesting fact recorded by Pampa is worth noting here. He says that Guṇārṇava, *i.e.* Arikēsarin II praised Kavitāguṇārṇava, *i.e.* Pampa, in glowing terms so as to attract the attention even of Ballaha, *i.e.* apparently, Kṛṣṇa III. In recognition of his poetic talents Arikēsarin II granted to Pampa an *agrahāra* named Dharmavuram in Bacce-sāsira. Two alternative readings of this territorial division, *viz.* Cacce and Carci are noted by the editors of the Pampa-Bhārata. A division called Sabbi-sāyira is referred to in the Parbhaṇi Plates of Arikēsarin III, as also in another inscription.[31] It may be suggested that Bacce may be a

30. *Journal of the Madras University*: Op. cit. p. 124.

31. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 263, text-lines 34-35.

misreading for Cabbi, a variant of Sabbi. Actually in an inscription [32] of the eleventh century we have a territorial division named Cabbi 21,000. Sabbi, we know, was a 1,000 division.[33] In it was situated the subdivision Rēpāka 12 which included the villages of Vanikaṭupulu, Hindakuṇṭa, Kaṭṭākūru and Veḷḷāḷapaṭṭu [34] which exist almost under the same names in the Sirsilla *taluk* of the Karimnagar District in the Hyderabad State. According to the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, Hanumakoṇḍa and Warangal might have been included in Sabbi-sāyira.[35] If our suggestion that Baçce-sāyira stands for Sabbi-sāyira be correct, the Dharmavuram granted to Paṁpa may be identified with one of the many villages of that name in this locality.

Of Baddega (III), son of Arikēsarin II we get some information from a stone inscription of his at Vēmulavāḍa and from the colophon of the *Yaśastilaka-Campū* of Sōmadēva-sūrin, who was his *protégé*. As noted earlier in a different context, the inscription says that Baddega had the *S'ubhadhāma-jinālaya* constructed for the use of Sōmadēva-sūrin, chief of the Gauḍa-saṁgha. The fact that Baddega was the builder of this *jinālaya* is also mentioned in the Parbhaṇi Plates of his son Arikēsarin III. Sōmadēva-sūrin for whose benefit Baddega constructed the *jinālaya* is no doubt the same as the author of *Yaśastilaka-Caṁpū*. In the colophon of this work this Jaina divine says that he completed it at a place called Gaṅgadhārā under the patronage of Baddega, son of Arikēsarin (II), in S'aka 881 (A.D. 959) when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III was camping at Mēlpāṭi. That Kṛṣṇa was staying at Mēlpāṭi (North Arcot District) in the course of his campaign against the Cōḷas is attested by this monarch's Karhāḍ Plates of A.D. 959. Gaṅgadhārā where Baddega resided still exists under the same name near Vēmulavāḍa the capital or these chiefs.

The last known ruler of this family is Arikēsarin III, son of Baddega. The only source of information about him is the

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32. *An. Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy*, 1946-47, No. 159.
33. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 258.
34. G. H. Khare : *Op. cit.* p. 52, text-line 42.
35. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 257-258,

inscription on the Parbhaṇi Plates. The record describes him as the subordinate (*pādapadmōpajīvin*) of Kṛṣṇarāja. It introduces him with the following among other *birudas*, *viz*. Pāṁbarāṅkus'a, Udāttanārāyaṇa, Tribhuvanamalla, Priyagaḷḷa, Pratyakṣa-Vādvali, Vikramārjuna and Guṇārṇava. It may be noted that most of these titles were borne by his grand-father also. The inscription registers the grant in S'aka 888 (A.D. 966) of the village of Vanikaṭupulu in Sabbi 1,000 to the Jaina divine Sōmadēva-sūrin for repairs and maintenance of the *vasati* called *S'ubhadhāma-jinālaya* built at Lēmbuḷapāṭaka by his father, Baddega. The spiritual lineage of Sōmadēva-sūrin is given in the charter as follows: in the Gauḍa-Saṁgha flourished the sage called Yas'ōdēva; his disciple was Nēmidēva and his disciple was Sōmadēva, Sōmadēva is praised as the author of *Yas'ōdhara Carita*, *Syādvādōpaniṣad* and a number of other *Subhāṣitas*. He was being held in high esteem by many ruling chiefs. This inscription is stated to have been composed by Kavi Peddaṇa. It is very doubtful if he is the same as Peddaṇārya, the *Tantrādhipa* of Arikēsarin II, though they bear the same name.

A substantial part of the article is based upon the information contained in the Vēmulavāḍa pillar inscription of Arikēsarin II. Though the record has been published more than once no satisfactory reading has been given. As a result of my examination of the inscription *in situ*, I have been able to make out the text more satisfactorily and I append it hereto.

TEXT[36]

[Metres: *vv*-1, 11, 16—19, *Anushṭubh; vv*-2-5, 15, *Upajāti; vv*-6, 14, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; *vv*-7, 12, *Upēndravajrā*; *vv*-8, 9, *Indravajrā*; *v*-10, *Vasantatilakā*; *v*-13, *Sragdharā*.]

First Face

1 श्रीमान्भानुस्तमोहंता दैत्यदर्प्पहरᳶप[रः ।][37]
2 लोकैकलोचनᳶ पायादपायाद्भुवनत्रयं(यम्)[38] [॥१*][39]
3 स्वस्ति समस्तविबुधा(ध)जनसंस्तूयमानस्सक-
4 ळ[40]कळाकमळैकराजहंसः कंसमथनैव(न इव)
5 कमळाकरीकृतवक्षस्थळ[ः*] स्थाणुरिव भा(भ)स्म-
6 सात्कृतसमस्तारिपु[र]प्र[ब]न्धः प्रवृ[द्धो]दयप्रबोधिता-
7 शेषप्रवाहांभोजान्वर्त्थीकृतविनयादित्य-
8 नामधेयᳶ प्रसाधिताशेषदिग्म(ङ्म)ण्डलश्च प[र*]-
9 मण्डलैकरामश्चालुक्यकुळतिळकः श्रीयुद्ध-
10 मल्लो नाम राजा बभूव ॥ सोऽयं किळाशासद-
11 नन्यशास्या(स्यां) सपादलक्षांक्षितिमक्षताज्ञः[।*] स-
12 मस्तराजेन्द्रकिरीटकोटिमाणिक्यरा(र) श्मिᳶ प्र(श्मिप्र)क-
13 र(रा)ञ्चितांघ्रिः ॥[२*] यᳶ पौदने सौधम[यीं] गजा[नां] वि-
14 धाय वापीमपि तैलपूरै[ः।*] स्स(स) सर्व्वसेकं स-

36. Written in Kannaḍa characters of the tenth century.
37. Doubtful readings are enclosed within square brackets [ ].
38. Corrections are put in round brackets ( ).
39. Portions supplied are put in square brackets with an asterisk [*].
40. In this inscription the *akṣara* ळ has been used in place of ल in most places.

15 ततं वितेने चास्रैः कुचानामरिसुन्दरीणां(णाम्) ॥ [३*]
16 स चित्रकूटं बहुचित्रकूटं शक्या(क्यं) सुरेन्द्रैरपि
17 नोपयातुं(तुम्) [।*] त्रिवर्ग्गयुक्त × प्रणतारिवर्ग्ग-
18 स्स्वभावदुं(दु)र्ग्गं किळ तं जहार ॥[४*] तस्यात्मजो द-
19 क्षिणबाहुदण्डचण्डासिधाराहतवैरि-
20 षण्डः [।*] बाळोद्गृहीताखिळवेङ्गिदेश× पा-
21 ति स्म पृथ्वीमरिकेसरीशः [॥ ५*] भूयोस्मान्न-
22 रसिंहवर्म्मनृपतिर्भूमिं समापाळय-
23 न्त्रा(द्रा)जादित्य इति क्षमापतिरता(तः) श्रीयुद्धम-
24 ल्लो नृपः [।*] त्यक्ता येन दरीविवर्ण्णविपि[न*]स्त्यानैः[व्रु(नैर्वृ)ता]
25 भूभुज × पश्चाद्बद्देगकल्पदारुरपरः श्रीयुद्ध-
26 मल्ल× पुनः ॥[६*] ततस्स राजन्यशिरोमणीनाम्प(नां प)दार-
27 विन्देन रुचो हरद्यः [।*] बभूव नाम्ना नरसिंहदेव[ः*] स्तं-
28 भात्पुमाल्लोकवृताविं(दि)वाद्यः ॥ [७*] य[ः] सप्तदुस्साघतरं नृ-

SECOND FACE

29 पाणान्नि(णां नि)र्जित्य सद्यस्समरांग-
30 णेषु [।*] विन्यस्य के हस्तमतो नतानां
31 स्ता(ता)न्माळव[ा*]न्यः कर[दी]चकार ॥ [८*] प्रत्युद्गतां
32 गूर्ज्जरराजसेनां निर्ज्जित्य राजा स्वय[मे]क
33 एव[।*] काळप्रिये राजकदंबकस्य स्तंभे स्वशौ-
34 [र्य्यं] विलिलेख शैळे ॥[९*] तस्योदपादि बळव-
35 त्परचक्रकुंभिकुंभस्थळोद्दळनदक्षक्रु-

36 पाणपाणिः[।*] भीतानतारिनरपाळकिरी-

37 टकोटिसंघट्टितांघ्रिसरसीज[वि]राजशो-

38 भः॥[१०*] श्रीमान्महीपतिस्साक्षान्नाम्ना वीरो-

39 रिकेसरी [।*] प्रादुर्ब्बभूव तेजस्वी । प्राता(त)-

40 र्भानुरिवोदयां(यम्)[॥ ११*] समस्तसामन्तशिखा-

41 मणीनां प्रभाप्रपातायितशार्व्वरास्व[ः](शर्वरीशः?) [।*]

42 सदारिनारीनयनांबुजानां लक्ष्मीं हि-

43 मासार इवाहरद्यः ॥ [१२*] सामन्तान् दण्डमु-

44 ख्यान्निजभुजपरिघां(घान्) प्रस्फुरत्खड्गधारा-

45 नी(न्नी)रांभोराशिमग्नांस्तुरगकरिघटापत्ति[सं]-

46 पत्तियुक्तान् [।*] कृत्वा प[द्म्या]र्य्यमार्य्यं स्वजनपरि-

47 जनैस्सन्निहत्याजिरंगे क्रुद्धे गोविन्दराजे [श]रण-

48 मुपगतो रक्षितो येन बिज्जः [॥ १३*] देवीं रेवकनिम्म-

49 डीं क्षितिपतेरिन्द्रस्य पुत्रीन्नुतां पौलोमीमिव

50 वासव[ः*] श्रियमिव श्रीमन्मुरध्वंसकः[।*] स्त्रीरत्नं

51 परिणीय येन [नि]तरं(रां) तस्यास्सपत्नीकृता नू-

52 ना(नं) सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीस्मा(मा)नोन्नतेनाधु-

53 ना ॥ [१४*] तेन भीतानताखिळबळवदिळापाळमौ-

54 ळिमाणिक्यरश्मिमाळालाळितचरणकम-

55 ळयुगळेन शरणायातक्षितिपाळप्राणि(ण)-

THIRD FACE

56 रक्षणदक्षकौक्षेयकोपलतीक्ष्यण(क्ष्ण)दक्षिण-

57 भुजार्ग्गळेन [क]न्तुकान्तकान्ताजनमनोनय-

58 नवल्लभेन करेणुपुत्रेणेव स्स(स)कळगजचि-

59 कित्साको[वि]देन गौतमेनेवे(वै)क(का)शीतिरधाव-

60 ध(कथाबन्ध ?)विधिकुशळेन राजात्मजेनेव परीक्षा-

61 विधानदक्षि(क्षे)ण वाह्ळिनेव बन्धुरकर्म्म-

62 स्कन्धसंबन्धपरायणेन ईश्वरे[णे]व

63 विजितमनोजेनोमाप्रियेण च

64 नारायणेनेव गोवर्द्धनेन धरेण च

65 चतुराननेनेव चतुरानने[न च] । स[क]-

66 ळकळानिळयेन च कळाधि(धी)(श)वत्कु-

67 मुदानन्दकरेण कान्तिमता च वनजा-

68 बन्धुनेव प्रबोधितबन्धुरबन्धुव-

69 दनवनजेन । निरस्तार[ा*]तितिमिरेण

70 च सहस्रकिरणवदतुळतेजसा

71 श्रीमदरिकेसरिमहाराजेन[41] ॥।

72 स्वस्ति समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहा-

73 सामन्ताधिपति समस्तभुवनसंस्तूयमा-

74 नचाळुक्यवंशोद्भवं पांबरांकुशनस्मनग-

75 न्धवारणं गन्धेभविद्याधरनारूड(ढ)सर्व्वज्ञ-

76 नुदात्तनारां(रा)[य*]णं नोडुत्तेगेल्वों गुणनिधि गुणा-

77 र्णवं शरणागतवज्रपंजरं प्रियगळ्ळुं

41. The use of the instrumental does not suit the context.

78 त्रिभुवनमल्ल सामन्तचूडामणि श्री-

79 मदरिकेसरियरसर तत्पादपद्मोप-

80 जीवि समस्तराज्यभरनिरूपितमहा-

81 सन्धिविग्रहपदवीप्रतिष्ठितं समस्त-

82 शास्त्रपारगं श्रीमत्संधिविग्रहिगुणांकु-

83 शेन[42] ॥।

FOURTH FACE

84 श्रीमान् सुधीर्व्वेंङ्गेगभूमिभर्त्तुस्तं-

85 त्राधिपालोजनि नागमार्य्यः [।*] गुणार्ण्ण-

86 वो[र्व्वी]पतितंत्रपाळस्तस्यात्मजोजाय-

87 त पेद्दणार्य्यः ॥ [१५*] तेनाभ्यत्थि(र्त्थि)तो देवतावन्द-

88 ननिमित्तमागत [:*] स्वनिर्म्मापितादित्यगृहा-

89 यागताभ्यागतजनसत्रनिमित्तमुत्तरा-

90 यणपुण्यसंक्रान्तिदिवसे शतनिवर्त्तन[सं]-

91 ख्यातभूमिक्षेत्रमष्टनिवर्त्तनसंख्यात-

92 पानीयभूमिक्षेत्रं च लेंबुळपाट-

93 कपत्तनैशानकोणे श्रीमदरिकेसरिक्षिति-

94 पतिरदात् ॥ तत्र राजेश्वरादित्यगृहबद्दे-

95 [गे]श्वरनगरेश्वरप्रभृति चतुःस्थानादि(धि)वा-

96 स[स्सा]क्षि(क्षी) मल्लिकार्ज्जुनव्यक्तलिंगिविद्याराशि-

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42. After this is engraved the following Kannaḍa inscription, which is apparently a later addition.

1. तळारं भिल्लेयं प-
2. न्नजन वीसदिय आदित्य-
3. गे बिट्ट [॥*]

97 व्याख्यानिभट्ट[ा]रकाश्च साक्षिणः ॥ चन्द्रश्रेष्ठिप्रभृ-

98 तयो नवश्रेष्ठिनश्च साक्षिणः[॥*]

99 निस्स्पृहैकाग्रणीस्सूरि [ः*] स्थानाधिष्ठायक स्वयं(यम्)[।*]

100 धातवीयान्वये जातः [श्री*]पण्डितमुनीश्वरः [॥१६*]

101 स्वधर्म्मवद्यं धर्म्मः पाळनीयो नराधिपै [ः।*]

102 न धर्म्म्याया[ः*] स्थितेस्सन्तः प्रच्यवन्ते कदाचन ।[। २७*]

103 कालक्षेपो न कर्त्तव्यं(व्य) आयुक्षीणे दिने दिने [।*]

104 यमस्य करुण[ा*]न्ना(ना)स्ति धर्म्मस्य त्वरिता गतं(तिः)[॥१७*]

105 अनित्यानि शरीराणि विभवो नय्व (नैव) शाश्वतं(ताः)[।*]

106 नि[त्यं] सन्निहितो मृत्युं(त्युः) कर्त्तव्यं(व्यो) धर्म्मसंग्रह [ः ॥ १९*]

107 तस्य क्षेत्रस्य द्वादश द्रम्म[ा*]स्सिद्धायः[॥*]

KASHMIR SHAIVISM *

By J. Rudrappa, M.A., LL.B

Pranasakti

The *s'aktis* according to this school of thought are many and varied. One of the principal aspects is *prāṇasakti*, the motive and sustaining force (*samvit prāk prānē pariṇatā*). The immanent aspect of *Paramas'iva* sustains and controls this universe by this dynamic *Prāṇas'akti*. This is both universal and individual. The changes and transfiguration of the material world are due to the ever working *prāṇas'akti*. Bereft of this *s'akti* life in any sphere means decay. In our common usage we say 'life becomes extinct.' This indicates that the former state of the being has been dissolved. In human beings this aspect has been made more explicit. The physical and psychological practices such as (*Prāṇayāma, Dhyāna* and *Dhārana*) are connected with this *prāṇas'akti*. Voluntary and involuntary movements in our physical body are controlled by this power, *prāṇas'akti*. The various activities of the entire material world are the offshoots of this *prāṇas'akti*. This is not merely a physical force or a psychological force but a psycho-physical force. Similarly all activities, subjective or objective, of the individual self are based on this *prāṇas'akti* (*sarvam prānē pratiṣṭitaḥ*).

Abhasavada

The underlying principle of the universe is pure consciousness. The world of ever changing forms or appearances is the expression of consciousness of the ultimate reality. There is apparently difference between being and becoming. Our perception is confined to the diversities in the objective forms. The forms appear and disappear but the being is unchanging, everlasting and self existent. In our individual consciousness we experience the same variations in a limited degree. We see, hear, touch, think, feel, imagine and speculate several things. The pictures pass into our mind

* Continued from Vol. XLV. Page 170.

in procession but the being who is (*ādhāra*), the basis of all these appearances and activities is unchanging and unimpinging notwithstanding these contradictory variations. Every thing that is changing rises from this eternal silent consciousness as waves in an ocean and ultimately merges into it. This is *ābhāsa*. It is a changing variation upon the unchanging consciousness. Perceptions, conceptions, objects of any form and experience are all *ābhāsas*.

The appearances or *ābhāsas* are real in the sense that they are aspects of the ultimate reality, *Paramas'iva*. They are non-existent in the real, in the forms in which we, the limited beings, experience them. The whole Universe is *ābhāsa* to *Paramas'iva*. The conceptions and perceptions of any kind are *ābhāsas* for the individual self.

A rational analysis of these *ābhāsas* will enable the *sādhaka* to strictly adhere to the unchanging consciousness which is identical with his true nature. This is one of the important aspects of recognition (*Pratyabhijña*).

Creation, preservation, absorption, obscuration and conferring grace are the five functions of *Paramas'iva*. Out of his free will he creates the Universe, *i.e.* He unfolds the universe on his own canvas (*svecchayā Svabhittau vis'va munmīlayati*) by the power of his own will. He preserves the created Universe and controls it according to his own plan (*ṣtiti*) and absorbs it within himself at the end of the cyclic period, (*saṁhāra*). Next he keeps the absorbed Universe within Himself in an unmanifested form so as to re-create it according to His will and wish. This is the function of obscuration (*tirōdhāna*). Lastly through his compassionate grace he redeems the individual selves (*anugraha*).

The individual self in a similar manner performs constantly these five functions in a limited sphere. His mental perceptions are his creation. Retention of what he perceives is preservation. Merging of these perceptions into consciousness is absorption. The deposit of these perceptions in consciousness (*cit*) with the idea of recalling them before his mind whenever necessary is called

obscuration. The complete merging into consciousness without reappearing is *anugraha* or grace. This can be illustrated by an example from our daily experience. The flash of a thought or idea in our mind is creation. The retention of that thought or idea is preservation. The flashing of another idea gives rise to absorption of the original idea. The depositing of the old idea absorbed in consciousness with the idea of bringing it back whenever necessary is obscuration. The complete merging of the same idea into *cit* without its emergence is grace.

Our mind is a mine of ideas accumulated from time immemorial. These ideas are called ***Vikalpās.*** The ideas are the source of all our pleasures and pains. It is very difficult to get rid of these impressions or ideas. These are obstructions in the evolution or extension of our consciousness. *Anugraha* is the only means to liquidate these ideas in consciousness, since all ideas emanate from the same source. The more we liquidate these ideas into consciousness the more we get extension of consciousness. By this kind of psychological analysis we become conscious of our actions and reactions of the various ideas. We will then try to transcend the mental plane which is the basis of all these conflicting and divergent ideas.

When the individual reflects as to the source of his impressions and their transfiguration in the light of the five functions stated above he will realise that the pure "*cit*" or consciousness is the basis of all these transformations and manifestations. This is one of the means for the identification of his native state. From an analysis of the five functions above-named the limited self can experience that he is no other than *Paramas'iva.*

NATURE OF BONDAGE

The all blissful supreme being has several powers, consciousness (*jñānas'akti*), remembrance (*smṛtis'akti*) and power of obscuration (*apōhanas'akti*). In the pure order of creation the voluntary limitation of the power of consciousness is *āṇavamala.* Duality created by this *āṇavamala* on conscious level is the basis of further impurities of the lower order of creation. The individual

self with the association of categories of the impure order further limits his conscious powers in the form of *māyīyamala* and *kārmamala*. The three impurities are the three aspects of bondage. The *kārmamala* is the result of the performance of worldly duties and its effects. This can be minimised by performing the duties prescribed by the sacred scriptures (*S'ivāgamas*). We see in the scriptures the duties classified in two categories, the one is the ethical or moral duties and the other comprises duties which help a person in his self-illumination. The moral duties are connected with his social life and leads him on to a life of righteousness. It is also beneficent to his fellow beings. The other duties like the worship of God, psychological practices, meditation, concentration, acquisition of intellectual knowledge, reflection of spiritual knowledge are all connected with subjective illumination. The effects follow the nature of duties. The people are at liberty to choose their duties which are helpful for a peaceful worldly life which becomes fecundative in the next world. If the *kārmamala* is minimised in the course of evolution, *mayīyamala* automatically disappears. If the *kārmamala* is minimised by good acts and right conduct it ends with the physical body. The *mayīyamala* bereft of *kārmamala* has no power to retain the *jīva* in bondage or rebirth, In the absence of *mayīyamala* and the *kārmamala* in the ascending order of evolution the *āṇavamala* disappears. By absorbing *kārmamala* through the extension of consciousness, the self transcends *mayīyamala* which constitutes the thirty categories of the lower order and marches on in the upward direction through the stages of *Vijñānakala*, *Mantra*, *Mantrēs'vara*, *Mantramahēs'vara* and finally reaches *S'ivahood* or *Sivattva*. By individual effort one can experience his true nature intermittently in the seven stages of consciousness which he potentially possesses.

PRATYABHIJNA

The principle of recognition is noticeable in our daily activities. Consciously or unconsciously all our activities are based on this principle of recognition. For instance, we see a particular thing or a particular person at a particular time and in a particular place.

After a lapse of time we again see the same thing or person in a different place and at a different time. We recognise and identify the thing or person with our experiences of the former occasion. Now the place is changed, some of the features of the thing or person are changed but we still recognise the past experience by remembrance and the present perception of the thing or person are identical (*grahaṇa smaraṇayōḥ aikyam*). This kind of recognition can be had in various ways such as sense perception, inference, a verbal testimony (*sabdapramāṇa*) and the like or by the combination of these two or three means of knowledge.

The idea of recognition in this system is somewhat peculiar. The individual self being instructed by sacred scriptures and *gurus* (preceptors) grasps the meaning and the spirit of the Universe and the Supreme Being. By the assimilation of this kind of knowledge there will be an awakening in him to experience his true nature and a desire to be free from the trammels of *saṁsāra*, the cycle of births and deaths. This kind of awakening or urge even by spiritual knowledge will happen through the grace of Lord *Paramas'iva*. After he gets the grace of Lord *Paramas'iva*, he contemplates, differentiates his own being as composed of thirty-six categories and verifies this with the knowledge of the scriptures and arrives at the conclusion that he is not different from *Paramas'iva*. Such an identification with the transcendental reality is called self-recognition.

The object of this kind of knowledge is to remove the veil and to expose what is hidden, thus making self-recognition possible. Professor Gowell's translation of Utpala's passage in the Īs'vara Pratyabhijña Kārika illustrates this theory well.

" A certain damsel hearing of the many qualities of a particular gallant, fell in love with him even before she had seen him and agitated by her passion and unable to suffer the pain of not seeing, wrote to him a love-letter descriptive of her condition. He at once came to her, but when she saw him she did not recognise in him the qualities she had heard about, he appeared much the same as any other person and she found no gratification in his society. As soon

as she recognised those qualities when her companion now pointed them out she was fully gratified." Similarly though the individual self is identical with the supreme yet we cannot get the happiness of this identity unless we become conscious of it or experience or realise it. Though we are conversant with the knowledge of the scriptures regarding God, Self and the World, we still remain unidentified with the Supreme Being. The identification with the Supreme as we have just pointed out in the above illustration depends upon initiation from an enlightened preceptor and the practices of various means prescribed as *upāyas* in this system.

The aim of this system is self realisation and the means by which this end is to be achieved is by removing the veil of ignorance which may be achieved either by the knowledge of the scriptures, preceptorial instruction or by self revelation as emphasised by Abhinavagupta as "*s'āstrataḥ*, *gurutaḥ* and *svataḥ*."

SHAKTIPATA

One of the distinguishing features of all systems of S'aivism is *S'aktipāta* or *S'ivānugraha*. It is called the divine grace. This redemptive grace is one of the five principal functions of Lord *Paramas'iva*. It is independent of human action. Whatever may be the intellectual or spiritual knowledge one may possess there is no guarantee that he will attain self-realisation unless he is blessed with the grace of the Lord. Mahāmahēs'varācārya Abhinavagupta of Kashmir S'ivādvaita fame has very clearly explained in his *Tantrālōka* as to when, how and with what qualifications the individual self will be eligible and fit to receive divine grace. His ideas can be briefly stated as follows:

There are innumerable finite selves in this universe. The experiences of these finite selves are different from one another. Their powers are limited by the five *kancukas* or sheaths and further conditioned by *puryaṣṭaka* (subtle body consisting of five *tanmātras* and *antaḥkarṇa*) and further subject to the merits and demerits of their actions coupled with residual traces (*saṁskāras*) of past actions. The tendency or cast of disposition of consciousness thus formulated inspires and influences the finite self in the

inner and outer activities of his life. With this background or underlying influence the individual self who is instructed by teachers with the knowledge of the sacred scriptures gets an awakening for obtaining spiritual knowledge and thereafter aspires for release from bondage. Even this kind of awakening and aspiration for redemption or release from bondage is due to the grace of God. It is our common experience that all people with equal positions in life, intellectual attainments and living in the same environment will not evince the same desire for the highest end or absolute value in life, *mōkṣa*. This leads us to infer that God's grace has not been bestowed upon them.

The seers have enumerated the various degrees of redemptive grace that will be conferred upon the aspirant, *sādhaka*. If the individual self is fully qualified by fruits of meritorious deeds, *karmaparipāka*, the redemptive grace of God will immediately release him from bondage. This is called *tīvras'akti pāta*. Such exalted selves who are fit to receive the divine grace do not require any psychological practices, rituals, initiation etc. Those who are less qualified will be fit to receive *madhyama s'akti pāta* of the Supreme Being. This kind of divine grace induces them or directs them to psychological practices, austerities, rituals, initiation etc. This class of beings gradually practising the course prescribed above will be liberated in due course. The third class of Beings, are those who receive *manda sakti pāta* of the Supreme being. This kind of grace will create in the individual self a longing for philosophical and spiritual knowledge and will further inspire him to meditation and concentration with a detached attitude towards terrestrial life. The nature of the spiritual evolution or transformation in the individual self may roughly be estimated or explained in this way by the nature of the divine grace that has been showered upon him. An individual self may become fit for divine grace by following the method. He may acquire knowledge from ancient scriptures, and follow his social and ethical duties in order to lead a peaceful life in society without impingement of his spiritual evolution. The psychological practices and preceptorial instructions are prescribed exclusively for inner progression and to obtain divine grace.

The enlightened self by his philosophical knowledge identifies his own self with the universal self (*samāvēsa*) but only on the intellectual plane. Next he experiences the objective world which is the very expression of the universal self and feels that his being is not different from the universal self. By this kind of spiritual practices or yōga he sees the objective world as a manifestation of the Supreme Being and not different from him and feels in his own self that the universe is his supreme wealth.

Sarvōmamāyam vibhavaḥ ityevam parijānataḥ ।
Visvātmanōvikalpōpi prasarepi mahēs'atam ॥
(*Vijñanabhairava*).

By identifying his own self with the universal self he will be self-concentrated in all his activities (*svarupānusandhāna*). In other words, he will acquire actual insight into the true nature of things. By leading a dedicated, beneficent and ideal life in this world he becomes a *karmayōgi* and experiences that the objective world is the expression of the universel self. To such individual selves the grace of God, like the showering of rain on the growing crops fruitifies his desire of union in due course with the Supreme Being or consciousness.

UPAYAS

The aim of these *upāyas* is to get rid of the three *malās*, (impurities) that obstruct the light of consciousness—*caitanyam*, i.e. *Ātma*. In order to achieve liberation or release from bondage our ancient seers have prescribed several ways and means according to the abilities of the aspirant (*sādhakās*). The four important means or *upāyas* which are recommended are very important as they embrace the whole range of the means of self realisation; these are *anupāya*, *s'āmbhavōpāya*, *s'āktōpāya* and *āṇavopāya*.

Anupāya is recommended for individuals who are far advanced in their extension of consciousness. They need only a word from a responsible quarter stating that "Thou art *Paramas'iva*." On initiation from a *guru* this individual becomes capable of identifying his true nature with *Paramas'iva*. Such individuals need not have recourse to rituals, ceremonies, psychological practices and the like. This in short is *anupāya*.

Those who are advanced in spiritual knowledge and who are able to transcend intellectual and mental stages by energising their will-power are eligible for *s'āmbhavopāya*. Here also the rituals and ceremonies are not of much importance. The individual meditates on the highest *S'ivatattva*. By meditation on the universe as being filled with *Paramas'iva* one rises to the rank of *Paramas'iva*, the lord of the manifested universe. For attaining this, one should constantly dwell on the thought: "The world has emanated from me, the world is reflected in me and the world is not separate from me."

Matta Evoditamidam
Maiyyaiva Pratibimbitam ।
Madabhinnamidam ceti
Tridhōpāyah sa sambhavaḥ ॥

Tantrāloka: Ahnika 3; sloka 281.

By energising his will-power he will identify himself with *Paramas'iva*. To Him the distinction between subject and object disappears and he reaches the bliss of *samādhi*.

S'āktopāya requires psychological practices and transformation of inner forces (*sarvas'akti vilolata*) to direct the mental impressions from duality to unity. *S'āktopāya* is otherwise called Mantra s'āstra. By effort the *citta* attains unity with S'iva beyond the mantra—a combination of sounds. The mātrika, the body of s'akti, is like a sleeping serpent coiled round the spark of light (*bindu*) concealed in its heart. The concentration of this spark on her rouses her. The coiled serpent becomes straight. By continued practice the man attains *mantravīrya*, by which his intellectual powers and bliss increase. By proceeding further and acquiring *prātibha jñana* or true knowledge he reaches *khecari*, the state of S'iva. By exercising thus his energies by conscious effort he will be able to transform his whole being—inner and outer activities. Gradually the feeling of duality becomes thinner and thinner and finally merges in pure consciousness or *cit* or *parāsamvit*.

The last one is *āṇavopāya*. *Aṇu* means the finite self. In this *upāya* by external worship of God, physical exercises, psychological practices—particularly concentration and meditation—the individual self utilises the instruments of the lower order (*karaṇa*) which were means of his bondage and turns them as a means for his complete transformation leading to self-realisation. By following this *upāya* the individual will be able to see the world with an higher vision and will get the *samāvēs'a* of the supreme consciousness. He feels the objective universe as non-different from the Supreme Being and identifies himself with the Supreme Being. He is capable of realising such *samāvēs'a* even in the terrestrial world by realising the essential unity between subject and object. Ordinary people with their intellectual attainments will think and feel that the objective world is different from them but those who have experienced *samāvēs'a* will realise the essential unity in diversity.

Thus we see that Kashmir S'aivism embraces the salient features of the philosophies of India. We find here the psychological practices of yōga, *akhyāti* of the *mīmāmsakas*, *i.e.* voluntary limitation of one's own powers, monism of the Upaniṣads, pragmatism and realism of *nyāya-vis'esika* and the twenty-five categories of Sāṅkhya. We find the implications of qualified monism, admitting the attributes of the Supreme Being. Finally admitting absolute reality in the subjective and objective creation of this endless universe it reconciles the opposition between being and becoming and the one and the many. The aspirant who wants to acquire and assimilate perfect knowledge and wisdom has vast choice in this system in selecting or electing the practices according to his own temperament and abilities. Further there is vast scope for self analysis, for differentiating his experiences and for verifying his states and stages of consciousness by comparing his scriptural knowledge with his own inner experience.

(*Concluded*)

THE DIFFUSION THEORY*

By Philip Spratt

The Churning of the Ocean of Milk

THE original mound is supposed to have been surrounded by water, and thus to have given rise to the stories of the creation of the world from a watery chaos. The mound, bearing the tree of life, became the Garden of Eden, which also contained the River of the Water of Life and the primal pair. In Sumeria and Babylonia it became the ziggurat, the seven-stepped hill with a temple on top. The *gopurams* of our temples, with their seven storeys, and facing a pool of water, are strikingly similar to them. Mircea Eliade [35] has shown that the tradition of the seven-stepped sacred structure, the centre of the world, or axis of the world, which led like a ladder to heaven, as in the story of Jacob, has a close Indian parallel in the story of the Buddha's seven steps.

In Hindu mythology the sacred mound presumably emerges as Meru or Mandara or other holy mountain. "They choose a place of worship. Let them choose a place which lies highest and above which no other part of the ground rises, for it was from thence that the gods ascended to heaven .....He thus sacrifices on a place of worship frequented by the gods." [36]

This is the background of the story, which runs thus: Through a curse, Indra and the Dēvas lost their energy, and the Asuras defeated them. Viṣṇu advised them to drink *amṛta*, "which prevents old age and death," to be obtained by churning the ocean of milk. A truce was declared. Herbs were thrown into the ocean. Mount Mandara was used as the stirring-rod, and the snake Vāsuki was wound round it as the string. The Asuras de. manded to hold Vāsuki's head and this was granted, but the snake's

* Continued from Vol. XLV. page 159.

35. *Bharatiya Vidya* : K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Vol. I. p. 180.

36. *Sp. Br. III.* 1. 1.1.

hot breath exhausted them, while the Dēvas were refreshed by cool breezes. Mandara sank in the sea, but Viṣṇu assumed the tortoise form and held it up. A number of valuable and harmful objects emerged, variously given in different versions. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa enumerates them as the Moon, *Pārijāta* (the tree of plenty), *Airāvata, Surabhi* (the cow of plenty), *Varuni* and *Sura* (wines), the *Apsarasas, Ucchaisrava,* Lakṣmi, a conch-shell, a mace, and the *Kausthuba.* Then came the poison, which threatened them all, until S'iva swallowed it, his throat turning blue. Finally came Dhanvantari with a vessel of *amṛta.* The Asuras seized it, but Viṣṇu appeared as Mohini and persuaded them to let her share it out. They sat in rows, the Dēvas on one side and the Asuras on the other. One of the Asuras crept into the Dēvas' row, but was detected by the sun and moon, and killed by being cut in two, the parts becoming heavenly bodies—Rāhu and Kētu. Mohini gave *amṛta* to the Dēvas, and then vanished with the rest of it. S'iva asked Viṣṇu to assume the form of Mohini again. Viṣṇu laughed significantly, and Mohini appeared. S'iva seized her but she slipped away and he pursued her.

Most of the incidents in this story come straight from the archetypal ritual as given by Hocart. We have the ritual battle, the feast and the ritual intercourse, and Viṣṇu's significant laugh and Mohini's reputation show that it had not been forgotten that originally the woman pursued the man. We have the human sacrifice, and the victim is cut in two, though the parts are not made into earth and sky, but into Rāhu and Kētu. We have the mountain and the pool or sea. The sun and moon are mentioned. We have the snake, though in a novel role, but complete with the fiery breath he uses against St. George and many other heroes (perhaps this originated from a practice of putting a light inside a mask, to make it more terrifying). S'iva's swallowing of the *halāhala* is the death and revival of the god-king, perhaps in the special form it takes in the initiation ritual, *i.e.* a test, from which the hero emerges triumphant (the purpose of the whole performance is to redeem Indra and the Dēvas from feebleness and give them eternal life). Viṣṇu's assumption of the tortoise form was

presumably suggested by the practice of burying a live tortoise in the base of the fire altar. The special form taken by the ritual battle, a sort of tug-of-war, may have been suggested by a ritual practice mentioned in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa [37] "the sacrificer holds on to those five priests from behind," *i.e.* each holds the hem of the garments of the one preceding him. (We also recall that when the Dēvas searched for Viṣṇu they held one another's hands). The churning no doubt comes from the ritual mode of making fire by revolving a stick in another piece of wood. Mandara is the axis of the world, and its name is almost the same as Mandāra, the name of a mythical tree. The verb for revolving the fire-stick is the same as that for churning. Churning is in fact an act of creation: it creates fire and butter. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* the Brāhmans churned the body of king Vēna and created the *Mlecchas*. The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa says: "Prajapati toiled and practised austerity; and worn out with toil and austerity, he created foam," [38] and then sand, gravel, rock, etc. But foam is created by churning. The sex symbolism is obvious, too. The churning episode is a creation ritual.

Thus almost the whole story of the Churning of the Ocean of Milk derives in a straightforward way from the ancient ritual of the divine king. The explanation is quite convincing, and is, so far as I know, the only explanation of this important myth that has yet been given.

There is a story somewhat reminiscent of this, which though it is, no doubt, much later, and may derive in part from it, preserves what may be a detail from the original, *viz.* the cave in the mound, which does not occur in the story just discussed. I refer to the story of the contest between Sūryaprabha and S'rutas'arman in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Sūryaprabha is the emperor of the Vidyādharas and S'rutas'armaṇ is a king subordinate to him. They are old enemies (like the Dēvas and Asuras: *i.e.* they are ritual enemies) and the fight starts again because S'rutas'arman runs away with Sūryaprabha's wives,

37. *Sp. Br.* IV. 2,5,4 and 6,9,8.

38. *Ibid.* VI. 1.1.13.

who are Daityas, Dānavās and Asuras. The kings are in the Himālaya offering sacrifices, and Sūryaprabha's fire is the first to light. This angers Brahmagupta, Brahma's son. A snake springs from Sūryaprabha's fire and with its violent breath puts to flight Brahmagupta and all the hostile kings. None of the others can catch it, but when Sūryāprabha touches it, it turns into a quiver. The bow and string are formed by two snakes fallen from a cloud which has sprung from a lake. The Dēvas throw bamboos into the lake; these are changed into snakes, and then into bows and strings. Before the fight Sūryaprabha must obtain certain magical herbs which heal wounds and restore life. These are in a cave in a mountain. Sūryaprabha's minister is the only man who can enter the cave. He does so, and brings forth Sūryaprabha's twelve wives, jewels, arms and horses. Eventually the two kings are reconciled in allegiance to S'iva.

Thus there are several parallels, but the cave suggests that the story may derive from the original ritual otherwise than by way of the story of the Churning of the Ocean of Milk. It may be noticed, too, that whereas we merely infer that the churning was a ritual contest, in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* story the contest is explicitly a ritual one.

THE RAMAYANA

The similarity between the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and of the Siege of Troy was noticed long ago. Perhaps it is not generally realised how closely similar they are Sīta and Helen were both born in a supernatural manner (there appears to be a variant in which Sīta is born from a swan's egg). Rāma and Menelaus are both in exile, with a faithful brother. They win their brides by defeating rivals in a test of martial prowess. Sīta and Helen are abducted and carried over the sea to a fortified town. Rāma and Menelaus now appeal for allies and raise armies which proceed over the sea against the abductors. They are at first repulsed and think of retreat, but eventually win and rescue the heroines. As Rāvaṇa and Hector go forth to the last fatal contest, Manḍōḍari and Andromache bid them an affecting farewell. The villains are killed,

their towns are burnt and Vibhīṣaṇa and Antenor were placed on their thrones by the victors. Many minor details also correspond.

On the other hand the stories are very different. Only what may be called the skeleton of plot and incident is common ; the poetical clothing takes very divergent forms. It seems likely that this skeleton was some kind of ritual drama, and if so, it must have derived in turn from the archetypal ritual described by Hocart.

Sīta and Helen, like the woman in the ritual, are produced by fertility rites—ploughing, and a rite involving an egg : the stories about the Hiraṇyagarbha are evidently related to such a rite. The heroes, Rāma and Menelaus, of royal birth, are banished but they return and win ritual contests. Nārāyan Aiyangar [39] cites variants in the *Uttara-Vāṣiṣṭa*, *Skāndōttara* and *Bhārgava Purāṇas*, and the *Das'aratha Jataka*, as well as oral tradition, in which Rāma and Sīta are brother and sister. In the *Maudgalya Rāmāyaṇa*, Sīta is Rāvaṇa's daughter,[40] and he, forewarned that she will cause his death, throws her as an infant into the sea. More usually, of course, it is the hero whose life is attempted in this way. It appears that there is a variant in which Rāvaṇa tries to kill in infancy not Rāma but his mother Kausalya.[41] Rāma has the prescribed battle with the monster. His rivalry with Rāvaṇa corresponds to the ritual combat with his predecessor and the marriage of the woman to both of them. The siege of the fortified city across the sea corresponds to the arrival of the hero across the river at the sacred mound. Raglan suggests that the mourning of the queen before the king's execution, repeated by Manḍōḍari and Andromache, may have been a feature of the ritual at an early stage. A parallel occurs in the Mexican ritual.[42] An incident reminiscent of the original ritual is the despatch of Hanumān to the holy mountain to gather magic herbs which will restore Rāma to life. Finally Rāma completes the cycle by exiling the mother of Lava and Kus'a, though before they were born and they defeat him later.

39. *Essays on Indo-Āryan Mythology*. Vol. II. pp. 458-471.

40. *Ibid.* p. 459.

41. R. Manohar Lall : *Among the Hindus* (1933) p. 65. Probably this refers to a folk version current in Northern India.

42. Raglan : *The Hero*. Ch. XV.

Thus Hocart's reconstructed ritual of the divine king provides a very credible theory of the origin of the Rāmāyaṇa story and of its close resemblance to the story of the Siege of Troy.

The later elaboration of the story presumably took place in a dual society, in which a man takes his wife from the other moiety, thus providing the background for the new theme of the abduction of the wife. Perhaps the earliest reference to it is the Ṛgvedic story of Panis tempting S'arama to be unfaithful to Indra.[43] Rajendralal Mitra pointed out that Panis is like Paris and that S'arama is etymologically equivalent to Helen.[44] What may be a derivative of the same story occurs in the next *sūkta* of the Ṛgveda.[45] and is repeated with some changes in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[46] the story of king Sōma, grandson of Brahma, who after his consecration becomes proud and carries off Tāra (another Tāra by the way), the wife of Brihaspati. The rivals gather supporters, the Gods on one side and the Daityas on the other. Finally Brahma intervenes and compels Sōma to restore Tāra to her husband. The same theme occurs in the story of Sūryaprabha and S'rutas'arman, just cited, where the disputed wives are Daityas, Danavas and Asuras.

If this suggestion is right, that these important stories of the Churning of the Ocean of Milk, and of Rāma, Sīta and Rāvaṇa, derive from the ritual of the divine king, that is a point of considerable interest, and is additional evidence of the close connection in early times between the Indian and the Middle Eastern cultures.

THE DASARA CELEBRATIONS

It seems possible that this ancient ritual survives today in the *Dasara* celebrations or *Durga Pūja*. The period of this festival, ten days, may be significant, in view of the ten years of the Trojan war; for *Dasara* celebrates the victory of Rāma over Rāvaṇa.

43. *R. V.* X. 108.
44. *The Indo-Āryans*, Vol. II, p. 435.
45. *R. V.* X. 109.
46. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*: IV. 7. 1.

Raglan[47] attaches a ritual significance to the number ten. During the *Dasara* celebrations, the king ascends the throne after walking round it three times, and the State sword is placed beside him. He worships weapons, and Lakṣmi, and the State horse and elephant, called *Ucchaisravas* and *Airāvata*. The animal-demon is ceremonially killed. There are wrestling displays, exhibitions of skill, giants, dwarfs, animals, etc. recalling the ritual combat and the humorous and obscene antics of the old ritual. Finally there is the triumphal procession, and in the *Durga Pūja* the image of Durga is immersed in a river. One day during *Dasara* is called *Simolaghna*, presumably from *simollanghan*, when the king indicated the boundaries of his kingdom in the four directions, as during the *rājasūya*, or crossed them to annex other kingdoms. In some places during *Dasara* the king goes in procession to cut with his sword a branch of a *banni* or *s'ami* tree, and the peop'e consider it auspicious to get *dars'an* of him on that occasion; if they fail to see him, it is said that they try instead to see a certain bird called *nīlakaṇṭha* with a blue throat. This accords with the identification of the swallowing of the poison with initiation.

DIPAVALI

Four ceremonies observed during *Dipavali* recall incidents of the ancient ritual: (1) the bathing and feeding of the brother by the sister on the day called *Yamadvitīya*, traditionally associated with Yama and his sister Yamuna; (2) the gambling; (3) a tug-of-war between high and low castes, which though dying out was still reported from Mahārāṣṭra thirty years ago,[48] and (4) the making of cowdung images of Bali Rāja, which are thrown away with the rubbish of the house, to the formula: "Let miseries depart, and the kingdom of Bali Rāja come back." Underhill suggests that this prayer for his return shows that Vāli (Bali) had his supporters, possibly of the lower castes. The same idea is abroad about the monkey king Vāli, also. It may be so, but the point here is that it is in the nature of the divine king to come back.

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47. Raglan: *The Hero*. Ch. XV.

48. M. M. Underhill; *The Hindu Religious Year*, p. 62.

If *Dasara* is the Kṣatriya festival and *Dipavali* that of the Vais'yas, the S'ūdra's is Holi. The horse-play and bad language of Holi, and the traces of a former practice of promiscuity, are reminiscent of the corresponding features of the archetypal ritual. Thus the ritual seems to have been split up into parts according to the interests or nature of the *varṇas*.

It cannot be said that the derivation of the *Dasara* and the other festivals from the ancient ritual of the divine king is established, but the coincidences are enough to create a presumption. The point is worth investigating.[49]

CASTE

Hocart applies the idea of the importance of ritual in ancient societies to the problem of caste. He claims that his theory on this subject is substantially the traditional Hindu theory, which has been obscured by the rationalism and dogmatic scepticism of the nineteenth century.

He assumes that at an early period Indian society was organised on the dual system, which has left traces in the tradition of Dēvas and Asuras and possibly in the right and left hand factions in

49. The article by A. W. Macdonald in *Journal Asiatique* (CCXLI, p. 487, 1953) on Jagannath Puri shows that the Car Festivals there and at other temples have several features reminiscent of the ritual described by Hocart. This festival at Puri is said to commemorate the return of S'ri Kṛṣṇa with Balarāma in their chariot from Gokula to Mathura, where he kills Kaṁsa and reigns in his stead. The images are placed on the car, which is dragged away to a garden house and left there for seven days, and then the triumphal return takes place: the whole function is supposed to last for nine days. Shortly before the Car Festival a *snāna yātra* takes place, in which there are clear indications of a rebirth of the gods. In some places the *ratha yātra* includes a sacred marriage. In some the car is taken in turn to the four points of the compass. A parallel has been shown between the temple car at Conjeevaram and the chariot in which the King of Cambodia is taken to his coronation. Puri has a *svargadvāra*, a length of sea-beach where the dead are buried and pilgrims bathe: this *svargadvāra*, the author compares to the *bhavāgra* or summit of the seven-stepped structure from which in some Buddhist ceremonies the Buddha takes his departure for heaven.

These parallels suggest that Hindu temple ritual can be traced back in part to the archetypal ritual reconstructed by Hocart.

South India (and indeed, as has been said, in a quite Hegelian series of dichotomies: Brāhman and Kṣatriya, Brāhman-Kṣatriya and Vais'ya, *Dvija* and *S'ūdra*, *Savarṇa* and *Avarṇa*). On this at some stage the fourfold system was superimposed. The main features of this system are familiar from ancient descriptions. The town or settlement was divided into four quarters, the eastern for the Kṣatriyas, the northern for the Brāhmans, the southern for the Vais'yas, and the western for the S'ūdras. Their symbolic colours, perhaps displayed in flags or in the dress, were red, white, yellow and black, respectively. The term *varṇa* applies to these ritual colours, not to skin colour.

There is no need to discuss the theory according to which caste is mainly a product of race or colour feeling. It has been effectively criticised, for example by Bhupendranath Datta in his *Studies in Hindu Social Polity*. There is clear evidence that S'ūdras were Āryas, that there were dark-skinned Brāhmans, and that the sons of the same king were sometimes initiated into the four different *varṇas*. Birth alone is not enough to determine caste: initiation is essential, and in ancient times people were sometimes initiated into castes other than their father's. The castes arose within the *varṇas* mainly through the performance of ritual functions. The ancient state was a ritual organisation.

The king was primarily the sacrificer, the *yajamāna* in the state rituals, the chief of which were the *rājasūya* and the *asvamēdha*. In these rituals he represented Indra; he was, as Hocart says, a living idol. But he was also other gods, in particular Varuṇa, and so was the upholder of the law. The essential attribute of the king was the *kṣatra*, the *imperium*. The *Kṣatriya varṇa* was that from which kings ought to be drawn. If a man of some other *varṇa* became king, he had a proper pedigree fabricated for himself, as S'ivāji did.

The Brāhmans were primarily those who officiated in various capacities in the sacrificial ritual. They also represented gods, Agni, Mitra, Sūrya, etc. The Vais'yas were sacrificers in the ceremonies in which they were consecrated to their offices, about which,

however, little is known. They are stated in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa to represent "those kinds of gods that are referred to in troops, such as the Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Visvedēvas, Maruts."[50] Their principal ceremonial function was the preparation and offering of food. As the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa says: "whatever belongs to the people, in that the chieftain has a share."[51] But the Maruts were Indra's soldiers, so the Vais'yas were the king's soldiers also.

The S'ūdras owed service to the other three *varṇas*, for which they were paid in land or goods. Some of these services were ceremonial, such as shaving sacrificers at the proper points during the ceremonies, performing music, and making the ritual furniture, utensils, clothes, chariots, etc.

It is thus that the theory has arisen that caste was an occupational grouping. But a man's ceremonial function might be and usually was different from that by which he earned his living. Most people of all *varṇas* earned their living by farming, but it was only members of the third *varṇa*, and perhaps only some special families of that *varṇa*, whose ceremonial function was farming and the supply of food for the sacrifice.

As the ritual functions of all the recognised castes had to do with the promotion of life, those functions connected with death were performed by people outside the system, the *Avarṇas*.

The number of the castes increased owing to various causes. People failed to observe ritual restrictions and so became degraded. As the minutiae of ritual increased, the number of castes increased correspondingly. The king had considerable authority in caste matters, and since kings would answer questions and settle disputes in different ways, they would create different local castes; and so on.

This is a very brief outline of Hocart's account, which occupies sixty-eight pages of his book, *Caste*. As a theory it has

50. *Sp. Br.* XIV. 4,2,24.

51. *Ibid.* IX. 1,1,18.

great merits. It accepts the ancient authorities, reading the minimum of modern prejudice into them. Hocart also based his work on observation of caste as it was to be seen in South India and Ceylon, and on his close knowledge of Polynesia. Unlike the occupational theory, it supplies a motive, *viz.* care for ceremonial purity, adequate to explain the segregation of castes in regard to food and marriage. Hutton denies this,[52] but I cannot see that he has any reason for the denial. We can legitimately assume that the people of those days cherished the beliefs in magic, the life-substance, and so forth, which gave meaning to their rituals.

Hocart's theory explains adequately the occurrence of the fifth group, the *Avarṇas*: those whose functions were concerned with death, in the broad magical or ritual sense. Other theories have failed to deal with this problem. It is not my intention to discuss it at every point, but I may mention, as corroboration, the observation of Abbott.[53] He shows that in Western India the belief is still alive that what destroys ritual purity is the destruction of life, *i.e.* such acts as crushing or cooking grain, bathing, cutting the hair and nails, and sexual indulgence.

The theory also explains how the same caste mentality, and broadly the same caste hierarchy, spread all over the country, whereas the race theory quite fails to do this. Hutton's theory also fails at this point. Hutton's theory is that caste is an automatic adjustment to the exceptional heterogeneity of the Indian population, caught in this curious peninsula, to which entrance is easy but from which exit is difficult. If Hutton's view were right, caste would vary from one part of the country to another far more than it does, since the assortment of races and cultures would vary greatly from place to place. Caste is not a mere response to conditions locally experienced, but is the result of the application of a uniform theory to variable conditions.

How is it that caste occurs only in India? Hocart's answer must be that it occurs wherever the fourfold organisation occurs;

52. *Caste In India*: Second Edition. p. 176.

53. *The Keys of Power*: pp. 491-2.

and this is, impliedly, what he does say. He finds social systems more or less closely similar to caste in ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt and Persia, and in modern Polynesia. "Every important feature of the Indian caste system," he says, "finds its parallel in Fiji." It is one of his favourite doctrines that the study of Polynesian societies is necessary for an understanding of ancient India.

His theory has thus some similarity to that of Emile Senart. But Senart confines himself to the tradition or spirit of the internal working of caste, which he shows to be similar to traditions exhibited in ancient Greece and Rome. He does not touch upon the principle of the system of castes, the state and its ritual hierarchy. Probably, then, Senart's and Hocart's theories can be regarded as supplementary, not conflicting.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his book, *Who Were the Shudras?* cites a number of facts which are disconcerting to older theories of caste, but are compatible with the theory propounded by Hocart. Ambedkar makes these principal points: (1) there were hostile groups of Āryas, and one group called on Indra to fight another; (2) there is no ground for identifying the S'ūdras with the Dāsas or Dasyus; (3) the evidence is strong that the S'ūdras were regarded as Āryas. Kautilya is perfectly clear about it, and several earlier authors make statements which permit of thi inference; (4) S'ūdras took part in rituals such as the consecration of kings, and became ministers of government; (5) Sudās, the king who fought the battle against ten other kings mentioned in the Ṛgveda, was a S'ūdra. This is clearly stated in the Mahābhārata [54] (where he is called Paijavana); (6) nevertheless, Sudās was consecrated king by Vaṣiṣṭha, performed the *Asvamēdha Yajna*, was a composer of Vedic hymns, and was an Ārya and a Kṣatriya; and (7) there were originally only three *varṇas*, Brāhman, Kṣatriya and Vais'ya: for the Ṛgveda mentions these but not the S'ūdras, except in the admittedly late *Puruṣa Sūkta*; and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa [55] and the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa [56] mention the creation of the three *varṇas* but not the fourth.

54. *S'antiparvan.* 60,38-40.
55. *Sp. Br.* II. 1. 4, 11.
56. *Tai. Br.* III. 12,9,2.

From these facts Ambedkar infers that the S'ūdras, originally Kṣatriyas, were degraded and became the fourth *varṇa*. They were degraded by the Brāhmans because of disputes between them and kings Sudās, Vēna, Purūravas, Nahuṣa and Nimi. All these were descendants of Ikṣvāku, and if Sudās was a S'ūdra, probably the others were so also. The Brāhmans, Ambedkar guesses, degraded them by refusing to perform *Upanayana* for them. *Upanayana* carries with it the right to sacrifice, and since the right to property depends on the right to sacrifice, the denial of *Upanayaṇa* entails the denial of the right to property. It also entails denial of education. Hence the denial of *Upanayana* would involve social degradation.

All these facts can be reconciled with Hocart's theory if it is assumed that when the fourfold system replaced the dual system, the three superior *varṇas* were formed from the moiety called the Dēvas, while the fourth *varṇa* was formed from the Asuras. The close relation between the Dēvas and the Asuras is clear from the references. Both were produced by Prajāpati. They intermarried. The Asuras had Brāhmans (*i.e.* priests) among them. The two groups were in fact parts of one social organisation, moieties of one tribe, and their relation was not outright or permanent enmity, but rivalry. A common incident of this dual system is the so-called joking relationship, and we have evidence that such a relation existed between the Dvijas and the S'ūdras, carried over, perhaps, from the relations of the earlier dual system. I refer to the mock-hostility between the Dvijas and S'ūdras shown during the Mahāvratiya, described by Kātyāyana.[57] "The performance of the Sattra is alternately lauded and vituperated by a Brāhman at the front door of the Sadas and a S'ūdra at the back door; a harlot and a *brahmacarin* upbraid one another; while a sham contest takes place between a Vais'ya and a S'ūdra."

In some dual societies one moiety is recognised as superior to the other; in some they are on the same level. Our evidence suggests that while the Dēvas and Asuras may at one time have

57. Quoted by Eggeling in his translation of *Sp. Br.* IV. 6,4,1, *fn.*

been equals, in later times the Dēvas attained the superior position, as they were called the sky or light people, while the Asuras were the earth or dark people. This is no doubt the reason why the three superior *varṇas* were formed from the Dēvas. This fact may also explain why the Ṛgveda and the passages cited by Ambedkar from the S'atapatha and the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇas refer only to the Dvijas. Actually the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa says: "The Brāhman caste is sprung from the Dēvas; the S'ūdras from the Asuras."[58] Ambedkar quotes this statement, but does not see its bearing on the problem.

We can reject, then, Ambedkar's inference that the S'ūdras were all Kṣatriyas. Some of them were what we may call proto-Kṣatriyas, as some were proto-Brāhmans and some proto-Vais'yas; with the rise of the fourfold system all were denied initiation and became S'ūdras. Subject to this qualification, the important facts and considerations adduced by Ambedkar go to support Hocart's theory of the ritual origin of *varṇa* and caste.

(*Concluded*)

58. *Tai. Br. IV*.2,6,7.

YEARLY RECORDS OF THE MISSION OF CARUAR *

(*Fathers of the Discalced Carmelites*)

WRITTEN BY FATHER P. F. FRANCIS XAVIER OF ST. ANNE
TRANSLATED BY S. SILVA

CHAPTER V

1717—1720

WHEN D. John Baptist Maria set out for Malabar, D. Mauritius entrusted this Mission of Caruar to P. F. Innocentius of St. Leopold. He had been deputed as missionary for Malabar and hither he had landed in transit; but since there were four Carmelite Missionaries in the Apostolic Vicariate of the Mughal, according to the need, he was detained here for the time being, namely till new hands from Europe would come or at least until the return of P. F. Anastasius of S. Maria, who a little before had sailed from here to Europe.

P. F. Innocentius of St. Leopold was born in Hungary of a very noble family of the Counts of Kallonitz; he had as a brother, the Lord of Kollonitz, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Archbishop of Vienna in Austria. He was as a man magnanimous, undaunted, forgetful of his home and people, illustrious by his charity towards the poor, indefatigable in hearing confessions, Father of the Catechumens, illustrious by the sanctity of life and ardent prayer, adorned with all virtues. He governed this Caruar Mission with great fruit for the space of about four years, *viz.* from the beginning of April 1717 till the end of September 1720, in which year he went to Malabar. Also he made use of some priests of the secular clergy as coadjutors, who, as ordained by the Mission title, were obliged by the Vicar Apostolic to be present and work wherever it seemed good to the Vicar Apostolic. During the time in which he governed this Mission, 61 baptisms were

* Continued from Vol.XLV.Page 191.

administered, out of which 8 were of heathens, 36 marriages and 55 deaths. Moreover a certain Calvinist publicly abjured his heresy in the church and joined the church.

Now when he was labouring already in the Malabar Mission, *viz.* in the year 1723, he was appointed Bishop of Agatonica, and coadjutor to D. Mauritius in the Mughal Vicariate; but he refused so great an office and did not want to be consecrated; with the same humility and constancy he declined to be consecrated, when in the year 1734, he was appointed Bishop of Anastasiopoly and coadjutor in the Malabar Vicariate of D. John Baptist Maria. In all ways he did great good to the Malabar Missions. He established with the money of his own family the Mangatensis house and he furnished the Catechumenate of Verapoly with a perpetual fund; he extended the house of Verapoly and Mattinera. Finally, he full of merit, passed away in Malabar in 1735 at the commencement of the fifty-fifth year of his age. His body rests in the Verapoly Church.

CHAPTER VI

1720—1725

In the beginning of the year 1720 P.F. Anastasius of S. Maria [8] back from Europe had come here. He however did not take up the government of the Mission, except when P. F. Innocentius went away. He was an Italian of the Province of Lombardy. He was prudent, learned, cautious, prompt in action, unimpaired and second to none. Therefore he had been sent to Rome from here by D. Mauritius in order to transact some affairs of the Missions. These things having been transacted at Rome he returned to the Mughal Mission adorned with the title and authority of Vicar Provincial of all our Missionaries in this part, in which office he succeeded D. John Baptist Maria and immediately as

8. Girolamo Devia of the Province of Lombardy; born 27th May 1662 in Milan; Professed 3rd September 1679; from the year 1712 in the Mughal Mission; in the year 1714 sent to Rome for the affairs of the Mission; came back as Vicar Provincial in the year 1720; died in Bombay 20th March 1726.

he reached here he was appointed by D. Mauritius as his Vicar General; in both of these offices he served until his death; and also until his death he held the government of this Mission.

It was he who in the year 1721 built the church and our house under the name of the Immaculate Virgin Mary at Sunkery out of stones and cement and with the money which partly he himself had brought from Italy and partly he had received precisely for this purpose from P. F. Innocentius of St. Leopold, praised above. This house can be truly called magnificent in India: for it was very extensive; 78 cubits long and 22 cubits wide; spacious with very many separate rooms; with double balcony or verandahs and constructed in the form of a monastery; and so it should have been just as it was because it was then the headquarters of the most vast Mission and in which at stated times many missionaries and even the Vicar Apostolic used to gather. But by the inexperience of the masons it came to pass that the building did not come up sufficiently strong, so that not many years after, both the church and the house began to collapse. This church was blessed with solemn rites by P. F. Anastasius himself on 8th September 1722. This building was situated in that part of the field of *Totti* which was donated to our fathers by the English. On 19th March 1724 died in this our house a certain secular priest John de Meneses, from the Village of Sancoal in Salsette Goan province. In his will he left a legacy for a mass to be celebrated in this our Church perpetually on every Wednesday; but some of his false friends enticed by the fatty inheritance made the pious will of the testator void and invalid; thence our Mission lost that legacy.

In the same year and month after ten days, *viz.* on the 29th a certain Nicholas Urbin, born in Surat of a French father and of an Indian mother died here in Sunkery; since he had no relations he bequeathed all his goods which were over Rs. 6,000-0-0 to this our Mission; but in vain; because a certain George Tellor, who was then Rector of the Anglican factory plundered everything completely by force and kept it for himself, alleging as existing debts not at all existing.

In the year 1725 the splendour and commerce of Caruar district began to fall away and gradually, nay by a precipitious ruin, after a while, disappeared. The cause of its ruin was the departure of the English and the abandoning of the English factory for during the years gone by dissensions having come between the English and the King of Sunda, which afterwards led to open war, the English had gone away abandoning the factory; but the King of Sunda realising the great utility to himself from the European trade put an end to these quarrels and recalled the English with great insistence. After the lapse of a few years there arose a fresh quarrel in which the English destroyed the Royal fortress in Caruar. Peace was again restored. But the King fearing too much the increasing power of the English built at the mouth of the great river a citadel in order that no English ship might come here without his consent. This citadel was called *Sada-scè-gādd* (in English Sadashe Gour) after the King's name who built it. The meaning of the name is as follows: *Sada* is the name of the King; *Scè* or *Cè* in Italian, *Schè* in English or *Chè* in Portuguese is the sign of the genitive of the name *Sada*; *Gadd* (the alphabet *A* is to be pronounced quickly and is very vague as if it were *O*; the double *DD* has a sound quite foregin to the Europeans who therefore pronounce it as *R*) means fortress or citadel. Then the English found it neither too safe nor very useful to remain here. They left the place, in fact on 26th February of the aforesaid year 1725. Departing, they gave the old Royal document in which they were settled the lords of the field *Totti* to a certain idolater of the Brāhmin stock as if appointing him as procurator or rather as lease holder with the obligation of paying the accustomed tribute to the royal treasury. Thus even to this day that idolater and his successors are considered the lords of the aforesaid field. The big building of the factory with its fortresses, no one inhabiting there, disappeared bit by bit, for whoever wanted carried away the stones, even to the Kingdom of Nababi—Haidar Ali Khan—under whom it was completely demolished and the stones used to rebuild the fortress *Sadashe gadd*. Thus by about 1801 not even a single stone was visible over the ground, though a good many remained in the foundation itself.

Since the time of its arrival, the English Business Company had become the very soul of all the commerce of Caruar, when they left, the trade was also ruined; innumerable inhabitants migrated elsewhere; the whole locality was reduced to poverty and solitude. It also happend that the river which at that time was very deep so that ships even very big could come here, by and by was filled up with mud and sand both in the mouth and in the bed so that it became less fit for business, which is increased greatly by shipping.

In the same year and day and in the same ship, in which the English departed from here, P. F. Anastasius also started for Bombay. The reasons for his trip were two: (1) to discuss some affairs of the Mission with D. Mauritius, the Vicar Apostolic then living in Bombay, (2) to take some money and silver vases to be kept in Bombay as a safer place from the danger of feared robbery from the infidels and when the danger was over, to be carried back here. But the very contrary was the case; for the place of custody, *viz.* Bombay turned out to be the place of plunder, for, P. F. Anastasius died soon after. Then these goods entrusted to the Missionaries in Bombay disappeared completely. Our Caruar Mission never afterwards got them. How those things disappeared God alone knows. This was indeed the first time, however not the only one, that the Mission of Caruar suffered spoliation through our Bombay religious. For we shall see in subsequent chapters that those very good Missionaries took away the money of our Mission a second time.

Our P. F. Anastasius was forced to remain in Bombay during the whole of the rainy season, much against his will, when he wanted to return to Sunkery, he fell into a long sickness, worn out by his illness for six months at a stretch, he died there at last in the year of the Lord on the 20th March 1726. He was buried in the Church of our Lady of Saluation. In the books of this Church of Sunkery there are still extant his writings from 1st February 1720 to 8th January 1725. During the whole period he governed this Mission there were 109 baptisms, of which 22 were of those converted from the infidels; 52 marriages and 66 deaths.

(*To be continued*)

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(*To be continued*)

LARGEST PROVINCIAL ORGANISATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA *

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A.

V

Introduction

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the southern wall of the Sokkanātha temple at Pirānmalai in the Tiruputtur taluk of the Ramnād district. It was copied by the Madras Epigraphical Department in 1903 and registered as No. 154 of that year's collection. Its text in Tamil script is given in the South Indian Inscriptions (Texts) Vol. VIII under general No. 442.

The inscription commences with the introduction *S'rī-Bhūmidēviputrāṇām* ending with *citramēḷasya-s'āsanam*, adds *Tribhuvanās'raya Pañca-s'ata-Vīra s'āsanam* and is followed by another introduction which begins with *Lakṣaṇa-Lakṣmī-vilāsālaṇkṛita* and mentions the following collective bodies :

A—*Māḍavīdi-Padiṉeṭṭu-ppaṭṭiṉam*—18 townships having streets with palatial buildings in them.

32 *Vaḷarpuram.*

64 *Kaḍigaitāvaḷam.*

Ceṭṭis who advance the cause of Dharma.[91]

Chief of *Ceṭṭis.*

Kavarai who are characterised as "*tavar-oṉṟ-illā-taṉmai oḻukkattu,*" *i.e.* "whose conduct was such that not a trace of delinquency could be detected."

Cāmuṇḍēs'vari deputed by Kās'yapa, the *ōlai-vāriyaṉ* sent by Rudra and the twelve classes of servants of rare heroism capable of executing anything that is thought of.

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* Continued from Vol. XLV, Page 98.

91. The word *taṉmai* here has to be taken for *dharma.*

After mentioning these groups, who were evidently represented in the collective body that transacted the business hereunder described, the inscription proceeds to record the eulogy of the Provincial Assembly of the 18 districts situated in four quarters and resorted to by all classes of people (*sakalalōka-padiṉeṉ-viṣayattōm*). This assembly, it is said, had set before it the king's sceptre and conducted with patience and sympathy the *samaya-dharma*[92] (*i.e.* the transactions of the assembly) so ably that, as a result, people swelled in numbers and were free from cares, that justice increased and evil deeds lessened; that fame spread (far and wide) and that all enemies were subdued; and righteousness advanced.

B—Then are noted the undermentioned five groups of "*Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar.*" Each of them is said to have been renowned in all the quarters:

Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar	of *Eṭṭai-vaṭṭai* and *Iḍai-vaṭṭai.*
do	of *Ēru-s'āttu* and *Iṟaṅgu-s'āttu.*
do	of *Aṟṟai-vaṭṭai* and *Aru-vaṭṭai* and *Nārattarai* and *Nālvattarai.*
do	of *Araṅgam* and *Taraṅgam.*
do	of *Nāḍu* and *Nagaras.*

Of these, the first and the third are not easy to understand, the second might refer to assemblies having supervision over or regulating the conduct of traders engaged in exports and imports, settled principally in coastal towns with royal emporiums and the fourth refers to provincial Agricultural and Administrative assembly and Provincial Mercantile assembly in charge of commerce and trade, mostly inland. The last, *i.e.* the fifth has been noticed already in dealing with Aṉbil and Tiṭṭaguḍi inscriptions.

92. *Taṉmai* used for *dharma*.

C—The above are followed by eleven other groups who are designated *Nagarattār*, *viz*.

The *nagarattār* of Aruvimānagaram *alias* Kulas'ēkhara-Paṭṭiṇam in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Eripaḍainallūr-Vaḍamaṭṭai in Tuvarāpati-nāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Puduteru *alias* S'ēranārāyaṇapuram in Puramalai—nāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Koḍumbāḷūr maṇigrāmam of Kaḍalaḍai-yādilaṅgai-koṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Uṟattūr.

The *nagarattār* of Maṇiyambalam in Tirukkōṭṭiyūr.

The *nagarattār* of Aḻagāpuram *alias* S'eḷiyanārāyaṇapuram in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Sandarapāṇḍiyapuram in Ayyapoḻil-vaḷanāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Aḻagaimānagaram *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷap-perunteru in Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Maṇḍaligan-Gambīrapperunteru.

The *nagarattār* of twelve *nagarams* including Jayaṅgoṇḍa-s'ōḷapuram.

The *nagarattār* of Karuvūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Paṭṭōli, Talaiyūr, Rājarājapuram, Kīraṉūr, and other cities (*nagaraṅgoḷ*).

The above mentioned *nagarattār*, it may be noted, were functioning in places which were termed *Paṭṭiṇam* or *Nagaram*, *Puram*, *Ūr* and *Perunteru*. Most of the places are situated in the ancient Pāṇḍya territory, except those in the eleventh group which are in Koṅgu-maṇḍalam. The organisation of the *nagarat-tār* of these places were evidently represented in the composite assembly that met at Pirānmalai.

The object of the inscription, which is a transaction made by several rural administrative bodies, may be briefly stated as follows.

As the sacred temple of Mārgavagaittīrttamudaliyār Nāyaṉār-Uḍaiyār Aḍagiya Tiruccirrambalamuḍaiya Nāyaṉār situated at the fort of Tirukkoḍuṅkoṉṟam hill in Tirumalai-nāḍu, with its

sacred tank, *maṭha* and *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam* had been left under the protection of (the assembly of the) Eighteen Districts (*padiṉeṉ-viṣaya*), the above mentioned bodies, *i.e.* the twenty-four mentioned above in **A**, **B** and **C** assembled in full and without deficiency (in the number required to form the quorum) in the *tirukkāvaṇam* of the temple, held convincing discussions resulting in unanimous agreement and made the (following) *samaya-dharma-kārya, viz.* For the *tiruppaḍi-māṟṟu* (*i.e.* sacred daily offerings) of the god, for the *tiruppaṇi* (*i.e.* repairs to the temple), for *tirupparis'aṭṭam* (*i.e.* sacred cloth), for *tirumēṟpūccu* (*i.e.* for sacred anointments), for the *maṭha* and for other *nimandas* (requirements), the undermentioned fees have been assigned :—

ARTICLES	Kās'u per *podi*	Kās'u per *pakkam*	Kās'u per headload	Kās'u per cart
Uppu (Salt)	1	½	½	10
Nel (Paddy)	1	½	...	10
Aris'i (Rice)	2	1	...	20
Payaṟu (Green gram)	1	½	...	20
Avarai (Beans)	1	½	...	20
Tuvarai (Dhal)	1	½	...	20
Āmaṇakku (Castor seed)	½	¼	...	10
Pākku (Arecanuts)	4	2	...	...
Miḷagu (Pepper)	5	2½	...	...
Mañjaḷ (Turmeric)	3	1½	...	...
S'ukku (Dried ginger)	3	1½	...	...
Veṅkāyam (Onion)	2	1	...	...
Kaḍugu (Mustard)	2	1	...	...
Jīrakam (Cumin seed)	2	1	...	...
Kaḍukkāy (Chebulic Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Nelli (Embelli Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Tāṉṟi (Beleric Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Irumbu (Iron)	2	1	...	20
Parutti (Cotton)	2	1	½	20
Nūl (Yarn or thread)	5	2½	2	20
Parum Puḍavai (Thick cloth)	10	5	...	...
Meṉ Puḍavai (thin cloth)	20	5	5	...

ARTICLES	Kās'u per *podi*	Kās'u per *pakkam*	Kās'u per headload	Kās'u per cart
Uḻaṇḍu (a kind of thread)	...	...	5	...
Meḻugu (Wax)	10	5	4	...
Tēṉ kuḍam (Honey pot)	4 *Kās'us*			
Eḷ (Sesamum)	4	2	1	...
Kōṇi (Gunny)	2	1	...	...
S'andaṇam (Sandal)	30	...	...	...
Agil	30 *kās'us* per bundle.			
Paṭṭu (Silk)	30 *kās'us* per *Paṭṭāvaḷaccumai.*			
Paṉinīr kuḍam (Rose Water)	30 *kās'us* per pot.			
S'avari-mayir	30 *kās'us* per *s'umai.*			
Karpūra-tailam	20 *kās'us* per *s'umai.*			
Sāndu, *Puḻugu*, *Javvādu*	15 *kās'us* per *kombu*. For headloads of these articles 3/4th of the rates prevailing for *pākkam* may be levied.			
S'āvāḍu	2 *kās'us.*			
Kudirai (horse)	¼ *accu*			
Āṉai (elephant)	½ *accu*			

The transaction ends by saying : " We the assembly of *Dis'ai-viḷaṅgu Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* made this kind of transaction for other articles also in the same manner." This is followed by signatures.

The following divisions and villages occur in the inscription, Avaṉis'ūḷāmaṇi-nāḍu, Pāmbuṇi-nāḍu, Maṇṇi-nāḍu, Toṇḍai-nāḍu, Talaiyūr-nāḍu, Kēraḷas'iṅga-vaḷanāḍu, Puramalai-nāḍu, Tuvarāpati-nāḍu, Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgaikoṇḍas'ōḻa-vaḷanāḍu, Uṟattūr-kūṟṟam, Ayygapoḻil-nāḍu, Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu, Aruvimānagaram, S'okkamaṅgalam, Poṟkaṭṭi, Āṉmaṉūr, Ambar, Paranai Uratiūr, Pālaiyūr, Kōvalūr, Arumbākkam, Kōval, Tuḷār, Pāṭṭam, Āṉaippāḍi Muṭṭappāḍi, Kalasappāḍi, Nāval, Marudūr, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, Aḷagāpurappaṟṟu, Pūdamaṅgalam, Neḍuvayal, Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, Maṉarkuḍi, Peruñcūvūr Pākkam, Paṇṇai, Aḷisirpākkam, Sikkal, Niyamam-Siṟṟambar, Sundarapāṇḍyapuram, Veṇṇainallūr, Sembaṅguḍi,

pāmburam, Pērāmbūr, Kāḷaiyārkkāvu, Eripaḍainallūr, Maruttuvakkuḍi Māṅguḍi, Koḍumbāḷūr, Tillai, Pudutteru, Nāṭṭārpaḷḷi, Tirunallūr, Vāguḍi, Tiruveṭpūr, Vādavūr, Aḍaippuḍi Māttūr, Virāṇam, Kaṇṇaṅguḍi, Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷapuram, Abhimāṉas'ōḷapuram, Pēṭṭai, Toṭṭipuram *alias* Rājakēsaripuram, S'ivapādas'ēkharapuram, S'ōḷapāṇḍiyapuram, Kōṭṭaikkarai, S'ēkarīpuram, Karuvūr, Vañjimānagaram, Muḍivaḷaṅgus'ōḷapuram, Kīraṉūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Muḍikoṇḍāṉ, Koṟṟaṉūr, Paṭṭōli, Talaiyūr, Rājarājapuram and Vaḍamaṭṭai.

The introduction of a purely Provincial Administrative assembly found in a Tirukoilur inscription [93] has much in common with a part of the introduction in the composite record under notice which comes from Pirānmalai.[94] Both the introductions are given below so that their common features and differences may be easily seen. The common features are marked by an underline in both.

TIRUKOILUR	PIRANMALAI
(1) S'rīmatām Bhūmi-putrāṇām s'rīmat gō-kshīra-jīvinām Sarva-lōka-hita-nyāyam Chitramēḷasya s'āsanam [‖] Jīyatām jagatām=ētat pālanam rāshṭra pōshaṇam [|] s'āsanam bhūmi-putrāṇām chāturvarṇa-kulōtbhavam —S'rī-Bhūmidēvikku makkaḷāgi nigaḷā	(1) S'rī Bhūmidēvi-putrāṇām kshāra-kshīrōda pūrvinām 1 Jayanti chitralōkānām rājya paripālakānām 1 sarvalōka-hitārtāya Chitramēḷīsya s āsanam [‖] 1.1
(2) (Seṉ-Tamiḻ Vaḍa-kalai terind-uṇarndu nīti kēṭṭu nipuṇarāgi naṟu-malar vāḍāt= Tirumagaḷ pudalvar ettis'aikkum viḷakkāga iṉs'ollāl-inid-aḷittu vaṉs'ollāl maṟaṅ=kaḍindu i-[95] chchatus-	(2) muṉṉiyāga muḷavoli vaḷarkkum muttamiḻ pāḍalōḍ=āḍal-ōvā viḷavum vēḷviyum viḷaṅgiya vīdiyuḍai (1.4)

93. *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII. No. 129.

94. *Ibid.* No. 442.

95. The phrase *catus-sāgara parimaṇḍalattu* occurs at the beginning of Nos. 40, 41 and 47 with *samasta* substituted for *catus*.

sāgara parimaṇḍalattu chandrāditta-varaiy=inid=ōṅga Vātarājaṉ kāṟṟ-as'aippa Varuṇarājaṉ nīṟṟelippa Dēvarājaṉ tis'ai viḷakka ettis'ai magaḷirum inidu viṟṟiruppa)	
(3) Teṅgum palāvum-tēmāñ-chōlaiyum vāḻaiyum kamugum vaḷarkoḍi mullaiyum Pāvaiyum Kiḻḻaiyum polivuḍaṉ keḻumi [96] vāṭṭamiṉṟi kūṭṭam perugiy=aṟam vaḷara kKali meliya-ppugaḻ peruga=ppuṟai [97] paṉiya tis'ay=anaittuñ= chevidupāḍa-mal [98] s'eṅkōlē muṉṉāgavum chittiramēḻiyē deyvam [99] āgāvum [100] sempoṟ-pas'um-paiyē vēliyāgavum kshamaviṉōḍuṁ-karuṇaiy-ēydi-chchamaiya-daṉmam-inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉṟa	(3) Teṅgum palāvun=tēmāñ chōlaiyuñ= chandaṉa-vēlichchaṇbaga-ppoḻilum vāḻaiyum=kamugum vaḷar-koḍi-mullaiyum (1.5) pūvaiyun-kiḻḻaiyum polivoḍu Sūḻa vāṭṭam-iṉṟi kūṭṭam peruga aṟam vaḷara-kKali meliya-ppugaḻ peruga-ppagai paṉiya tis'ai-anaittuñ-cheviḍupaḍa=chcheṅkōle muṉṉāgavuñ-chempoṟ-pas'umpaiyē deyvamāga-vum (1.6) kshamaiviṉōḍum-karuṇaiy-ēydi=chchamaiya-daṉmaiy-inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉṟa
(4) Uttama-nīti uyar-peruṅ-kīrtti muttamiḻ mālai muḻuvadum uṇarnda Chittiramēḻi-pperiyanāṭṭōm	Nāṅgu-dis'ai samasta-lōka ppadiṉeṉ-Vishayattōm (11.4 to 6)

96. *keḻumi* is replaced by *sūḻa*.
97. *puṟai* is replaced by *pagai*.
98. *paḍāmal* is replaced by *paḍa*.
99. *deyvamāgavum* takes the place of *vēliyāgavum*.
100. This is omitted in the Pirāṉmalai introduction.

It will be seen that (1) the Sanskrit portion varies slightly in wording, that (2) the Tamil introductory portion commences differently in the two, but from (3) *teṅgum palāvum* is almost identical with slight variations which are indicated in footnotes. The portion commencing with *uttama nīti* and ending with *periyanāṭṭōm* of the Tirukoilur inscription, which is absent in the Pirāṉmalai record is found as a short introduction in Anbil [101] and Tiṭṭaguḍi [102] introductions. The words *eḻupattoṉbadu nāṭṭu* precedes *uttama nīti* in No. 291 of *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII and qualify *Periyanāṭṭu*. The concluding words *Cittiramēḻi-pperiya-nāṭṭōm* of the Tirukoilur inscription is expanded into *Nāṅgu-dis'ai samastalōka ppadiṉeṉ viṣayattōm* in the Pirāṉmalai record. These longer introductions sometimes assume the abridged form "*Samasta sāgara parimaṇḍalattu kṣamaiviṉōḍun karuṇaiy-ēydi Samaiya-daṉmam-inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṟṟa Nāṅgu-dis'ai Padiṉeṉ-Viṣayattōm.*" [103]

One of the Nellore inscriptions [104] commences after the words "*Tiruvāykkēḻvi muṉṉāga,*" [105] with the Sanskrit introduction "*S'rīmat-Bhūmidēvi putrasya cātur-varṇa-kulōtbhava sarvalōka-hitārtāya Citramēḻasya s'āsanam*" followed by the Tamil introduction "*Aṟam vaḻara karp=amaiya pugaḻ peruga manu-neṟi talaippa........niyāya-naḍāttugiṉṟa*" and introduces the Provincial Assembly of that part of the country, *viz. Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḻa-maṇḍalattu Peḍai-nāṭṭu-viṣayam āṉa*—here are given names of twelve *viṣayams*—*uṭpaṭṭa Periyanāṭṭu-viṣayattōmum.* It states that the Assembly ordered that the three kinds of villages—big, middle and small—shall give for the temple, 1,000, 500 and 200 *kuḻi* of land, respectively for the upkeep. The concluding portion, *viz.* "such of the *villages* that do not obey this order shall be deemed to have committed an offence against the *Periya-nāḍu* (Provincial

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101. *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII. No. 198.
102. *Ibid.* No. 291.
103. *Ibid.* Vol. VI. Nos. 40 & 41.
104. *Ibid.* Vol. V. No. 496.
105. Indicating that the organisation was functioning under the authority of the king and that the latter had the cognisance of it.

Assembly): and all individuals that cultivate and hold plough should not say (by way of excuse) that the land belongs to a Brāhmaṇa lady and that they are only servants," is noteworthy.

Omitting the above extracted portion relating the Provincial Agricultural and Administrative Assembly from the composite Pirāṉmalai introduction, we get to that part of it which mentions a number of organisations which were functioning in Paṭṭiṇam, Puram, and Tāvaḷam with a kind of introduction showing their mythical origin. The Mysore Archæological Report for 1917, gives on page 44 a similar description from an inscription from Jōḍi Kempaṇapura (Chāmarājanagar Taluk). It records an agreement by warriors of Kellūr *alias* Rājādhirāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam in Padi-nāḍu of Gaṅgaikoṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Muḍigoṇḍas'ōḷa maṇḍalam, who are described as the asylum of the whole world, as having their chests embraced by the characteristics of the 500 *Vīra s'āsanas*, as valiant in the three worlds, as descended from Vāsudēva-Gaṇḍuḷi and Mūlabhattira, as the subjects of the Paramēs'vara of the city of Aiyapoḷil, and as diligently conducting and maintaining the *dharmas of the community in all religions*,[106] in such a way as conduced to the growth of virtue, feebleness of Kali and the increase of fame, deeming the sceptre as their god (to the effect that in order to provide oil for lamps)—*Mēlēṟṟamuḍaiyār Mēṉaḍaippāvāḍaiyiraṇḍum Kīḻēṟṟamuḍaiyār oru puḍavaiyum* and every swordsman one cloth (*oru pāvāḍai*).

Tribhuvanās'raya Pañca s'ata Vīra s'āsanam Lakṣaṇa-Lakṣmī-vilāsālaṅkrita Vakṣa-sthala Bhuvanaparākrama S'ri-Vāsudēva-sahāyaka(n) Dēvimūlapatralōpa S'rī Aimpoḻir-Paramēs'varikkum Bhūmidēvikkum makkaḷāgiṉigaḷāniṉṟa madi-toḍa poṅgu māḍavīdi padiṉeṭṭu paṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇḍu vaḷar puramum aṟupattu-nālu kaḍigi-ttāvaḷamum tāvaḷattirundu daṉmai-vaḷarkkum s'eṭṭiyum s'eṭṭiciṟapputtāṉum tavaroṉṟillā taṉmaiyoḻukkattu-kkavarai-taṉṉōḍu Kāsyapan viḍutta cāmuṇ-dis'variyum Uruttiran viḍutta Ōlaivāriyaṉum uṉṉiyadu muḍikkum oṇ-ḍiral vīrar paṉṉirutirattu paṇis'eymakkaḷum.

106. This renlering is wrong for '*samaya dharma*.'

"*Tribhuvanās'raya Pañcas'ata Vīra s'āsanam*" seems to be the introduction for the transactions conducted by the assembly of the army. This is "seen from a part of the concluding portion of a Kuḍumiyāmali inscription the text of which is given in 'The inscriptions of the Pudukottai State.' This inscription [107] registers a joint transaction by the Assembly of the Army, the District Assembly and the Kaikkōḷas of Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍas'ōḷavaḷanāḍu. The words used in it for the Assembly of the Army are "*Mūṉrupaḍai-paḷiyili Aiññūṟṟuvar,*" *i.e.* "the blameless five hundred men (constituting the army of) the three regiments." The same occurs as "*Mūṉṟukai-Mahāsēṉai*" in one of the Tiruvālis'varam inscriptions [108] and as "*Paḍai-piḍitta Pallāyiravar*" of the "*Mūṉṟukai*-Mahāsēṉai" in another inscription. [109] "*Mūṉṟukai Tiruvēḷaikkārar*" and "*Mūṉṟukaiyar*" appear to be other forms of the same.[110]

The adjectival clause "*Lakṣaṇa Lakṣmī* etc." meaning the descendants of *Dēvimūlabhadralōpa Paramēs'vari* of the city of Aimpoḷil and Bhūmidēvi, the helpmates of Vās'udēva of world-prowess whose "breast is adorned by being the abode of the beautiful goddess Lakṣmī" seems to qualify the members of all the groups that followed, *viz.* (i) *Māḍavīdi-Padiṉettuppaṭṭiṉam*, (ii) *muppattiraṇḍu vaḷarpuram*, (iii) *Aṟupattunāṉgu Kaḍigaittāvaḷam*, (iv) *S'eṭṭis* and *S'eṭṭi s'iṟappu* (sons) and (v) *Kavarai* and *Paṉṉirutirattu-paṇis'ey-makkaḷ*.

Madi-toḍa-poṅgu-māḍa-vīdi qualifying *paṭṭiṉam* in (i) occurs in the shortened form *māḍa-vīdiyār* in an Uttaramallūr inscription where they are given the right of choosing men for testing the fineness of gold.[111] In the present inscription they clearly refer

107. No. 125 of the Pudukottai Inscriptions. See also *A.R.* on *S.I. Ep.* for 1905, Part II. para 17.

108. No. 120 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1905.

109. *Ibid.* No. 616 and No. 753 of *S.I.I.* Vol. V.

110. No. 1396 of *S.I.I.* Vol. IV and No, 542 of *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1916.

111. *Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII.*p.145 ff. S'aṅkarappāḍiyār and S'ēṉai also figure in it.

to the corporate body in the Paṭṭiṇam of which eighteen are said to have existed in the Province. Tamil literature speaks of this class in similar terms.[112]

(ii) *Puram* like *Paṭṭiṇam*, is a distinct designation given to the quarters where resided the industrial and mercantile classes of people. It is in some cases called *Nagaram*. That *Puram*, *Perunteru* and *Nagara* are synonymous terms is seen from many inscriptions. Dēvāram mentions about ten Nagarams, *viz.* Tiruccirai, Tiruviḷanagar, Tiruvānūr, Tiruvēṭkaḷam, Tirukkāḷi, Kōnērirājapuram, Tirumāḷam, Tiruttiṇainagar, Tiruvālampuram, Tiruppāmburam and Tirukkacci. *Nagarattār* comprised of (*nagarattukku-camainda*) *vyāpārigaḷ*, *s'āliyar*, *saṅkarapāḍiyar* and *vāṇiyar*. The wide range of their power and influence and the constitutional nature of the body will be apparent from the following references. Nagarattār issued orders (*niyōga*) directing[113] payment of *Āyam* and *Taragu* by the shops in front of temples, made gifts of land[114] and taxes on looms.[115] The Nagarattār had *vāriyars* or committee members and accountants.

Kriṣi vāṇijya pas'u pālanādi vārtām tad-ārambhādi dhanō-pāyārthān s'ikṣitāt.

(iii) Kaḍigaittāvaḷam represented the residence of another group or class of people. In a Malavalli inscription,[116] *ghaṭikā-sthāna* takes the place of *Kaḍigaittāvaḷam*. As such *tāvaḷam* is only a variant of *sthāna*. It may here be noted that *sthāna* is used by Manu in *Ch. VII. v.* 56 and the commentator Kullūka Bhaṭṭa takes it to refer to what constitutes the principal strength of a dominion: it consisted of *Daṇḍa* (army), *Pura* (mercantile quarters or *Nagara*) and *Rāṣṭra*.[117]

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112. *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*, 1.331.

113. *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, No. 712; No. 82 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1911.

114. No. 84 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1911.

115. No. 194 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1910.

116. Ml. 74.

117. See his comment on *Manu*, VII. v, 56.

(iv) *S'eṭṭis* are stated to have taken their seats in the *tāvaḷam* and rendered justice and conducted their transactions. By '*s'eṭṭi*' is no doubt meant '*s'rēṣṭin*' which occurs in a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions where the term denotes the chief member or President of the mercantile corporation. The description given in our inscription shows clearly that '*kaḍigai*' or '*ghaṭikā*'[118] need not necessarily be an educational or Vedic institution.

(v) Who are meant by the 'faultless *Kavarai*' is not clear. At present *Kavarai* forms a class of people.

Samaya dharma, as we have already said, refers to the transactions of rural assemblies as distinguished from *Rāja dharma*, the transactions of the king or the State. In this connection we may note Kullūka Bhaṭṭa's comment on Manu. VII.1.

Rājas'abdō'pi nātra Kṣatriya jāti vacanaḥ |
Kiṁtu abhiṣikta janapada-pura-pālayitṛi-puruṣa vācakaḥ ||

As such all members of rural assemblies of every description regularly constituted making *vyavasthas* or *samaya dharmas* come under one class, *viz.* rulers. Hence the *dharma* (*vyavastha* or transaction) made by these have to be obeyed as well as those made by kings.

(vi) The sixth class which consisted of twelve classes of servants of rare heroism (*oṇ-ḍiṟal vīrar paṇṇiru-tirattu paṇis'ey-makkaḷ*) may have reference to servants employed in various capacities in the army and mercantile business as well as in civil departments such as *meykāppār*, *parivārattār*, *vēḷaikkārar*, *paḍaiyilār*, *perundanattu* or *s'irudanattu paṇis'eymakkaḷ*, *valañjiyar*, etc. These are said to have originated *Cāmuṇḍi* and *Ōlaivāriyar* of *Rudra* referred to previously.

The information available in the inscriptions enables us to say that a State or kingdom was for easy administrative purposes divided into groups or provinces each consisting of eighteen districts and

118. *Kaḍigaiyar-iraiyili* and *Kaḍigai-kaḷattu-kōl* occur in Nos. 10 and 51 : *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII.

having within it eighteen *Paṭṭiṉam* (*Padiṉeṉ-viṣayam*), thirty-two *Vaḷarpuram* and sixty-four *Kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*. Our idea that a province consisted of eighteen districts is strengthened from No. 496 of *S.I.I.* Vol. V and others.

There is little doubt as to the places indicated by the designation of *Paṭṭinam*, *Puram* and *Tāvaḷam* having been occupied by men engaged in commerce, trade and industry. *Paṭṭiṉam* is a place situated near the coast with broad streets abounding in palaces (called in Tamil *Māḍam*) where merchant princes lived. In these streets were left articles of various descriptions which arrived from distant places to be shipped. These could not be accommodated in warehouses or in closed doors provided with lock and key, guarded night and day by the watchmen provided by merchants and by armed men deputed by the State.[119]

A fine instance of what a *Puram* was had been furnished by me elsewhere.[120] It remains to say what is meant by *Tāvaḷam*. That the word stands merely for '*sthāna*' is known from the replacement of '*Kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*' by '*Ghaṭikā-sthāna*' in a Malavalli record.[121] An inscription from Nellore dated in A.D. 1188 corresponding to the tenth year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III registers an assignment of *āyam* to the temple of Tiruppāṟkaḍal-Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-Perumāḷ by the *paḍai-mudalis* (*i.e.* chiefs of army) and *Nagarattārs* (*i.e.* the Assembly of the merchants) of the three streets of Vikramasiṅgapuram. The *āyam* (which means revenue) consisted of a *ciṉṉa* on the collection of *s'ungam vari* (*i.e.* tolls) realised on behalf of the king (*Piḷḷaiyār*) at specified rates on all articles that are either measured or weighed and one *ciṉṉam* that shall be paid by the bridegroom and the bride in all marriages. After recording the above, the inscription proceeds "The *Samaya nārāyaṇa-danma* (for *dharma*) *Tāvaḷar* declared that similar assignments shall be made in other *maṇḍalams* also." This endorsement by the *samaya-dharma-Tāvaḷar* on the joint transaction of the army chiefs and the assembly of merchants (*nagarattār*)

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119. *Perumbaṇāṟṟuppaḍai.* 11.319f and *Maduraikkāñci* 1.317.
120. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 146.
121. Ml. 74. See also p. 280. Note 116.

shows that they were a similar or allied body and possessed authority over many such organisations in the country. The assignment of the revenue could only be done by a regularly constituted body invested with authority to collect the State revenue and made responsible for it to the State just as the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* were. It is quite possible that the amount appropriated would have been duly intimated and made good just as the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* did, whenever they, on their own authority, remitted the taxes on lands.

More positive evidence to show that the Provincial (Agricultural) Assembly (*Citramēḻi-periya-nāṭṭu-Viṣayattōm*) was also concerned in administration and was discharging the duties of the State is furnished in another Nellore inscription,[122] the relevant portion of which is extracted below and translated; and it may be noted that the inscription commences with the words "*Tiruvāyk-kēḻvi-muṉṉāga*" indicating the cognition by the king, and is followed by a short Sanskrit verse which is a characteristic feature of the records of Provincial Agricultural Assembly as noticed above:

Aṟam vaḷara=kkaṟp-amaiya=ppugaḻ peruga Maṉu-neṟi taḻaippa niyāyam naḍāttugiṉṟa

"who rendered justice (in such a way as to contribute) to the growth of virtue, stability of chastity, increase of fame and the spreading of the path of Manu."

These words show clearly that the assembly was carrying out the functions of the State and was engaged in the maintenance of Law and Order.

The Provincial Assembly is, in this inscription said to have consisted of the members of several districts (*Periya-nāḍu*) and included the members of *Peḍai-nāḍu* and twelve other subdivisions which are named. The assembly ordered the assignment of lands by villages, according to their size, to the Viṣṇu temple at Nellore.

It may be noted that the province of this assembly is different from the one mentioned in an Ālaṅguḍi epigraph and different also from that mentioned in the Pirāṉmalai record.

122. No. 496 of *S.I.I.* Vol. V.

Having shown that the Provincial Agricultural Assembly exercised State powers, it may be well to sound here a note of warning against its being confused with what might be called the 'Guild.' The latter was not unknown to ancient law-givers. They termed it *Sambhūya Samutthāna*. And the distinguishing features of it were (*a*) a joint contribution of capital and (*b*) conducting of work for the sake of profit. These two features are entirely absent in the aim and working of the Provincial Assembly.

Constitutionally each of the places falling under the broad category of *Paṭṭiṉam*, *Vaḷarpuram* and *Kaḍigai-Tāvaḷam* formed a separate unit, and the body in each seems to have sent representatives to take part in the transactions of the Provincial Administrative Assembly.

As each district (*Vaḷanāḍu* or *Periya nāḍu*) was divided into a number of subdivisions (*nāḍu*) which had separate assemblies of their own, it is natural to suppose that the subdivisional assemblies were represented in the bigger Provincial Assembly; and this fact is made clear from the second Nellore inscription noticed above, which states that *Periya nāḍu* included the assemblies of several subdivisions.

From the Pirāṉmalai and other inscriptions relating to the Provincial Assemblies which were the biggest organisations in the country, it is seen that they were actively engaged in peaceful pursuits of production, industry and trade.

The composition of this body is indicated by such words as *cātur-varṇa-samudbhava*, *samastalōka*, etc. The members were drawn from all classes, not confined to any one class as in the case of *Veḷḷāṉ-vagai-ūrār* or *Brāhminical-Sabhaiyār*. They were learned both in Sanskrit and Tamil (*Vaḍa kalai* and *Sen-Tamiḻ*), had studied politics and had become experts and their duty was the protection of the people and the country (*Rāṣṭra-pōṣana* and *Rājya-paripālana*).

If homogeneity characterised the composition of the members of the smaller rural administrative institutions, such as the *Kula* or

Kuḍumbu, *Cēri*, *Ūr* and *Sabhā*, that functioned in villages, community of interest marked the cementing force of the members in the wider Provincial Organisations.

The reason for the non-recognition of this all powerful body which wielded the greatest influence in the land is due to a mistaken notion that the word *Samaya* or *Samaya-Dharma* or *Samaya-Kārya* meant the *Dharmas* of the community in all religions.

We have very clear ideas about *Samaya* or *Samaya-Dharma*. It was called also *Samvada* or *Saṅkēta* in the Dharmas'ās'tras. That it meant 'transactions of every kind made, consistent with what is inculcated in the *S'āstras*, by rural administrative assemblies such as those that were functioning in the villages (*Grāma*), subdivisions or districts (*Dēs'a* or *Janapada*) including mercantile corporations, etc. (*Grāma-dēśasaṅgha*), is made plain by the writers and commentators of the Dharmas'āstras. *Samaya-dharma* had the same force as the laws made by kings and were enforced by the State. The following quotations will make the above fact plain:

(i) Commenting on *Sarva-dharmān* (Yaj. II. 3) Vijñānēśvara notes *S'āstrōktān sāmayikāṁs'=ca dharmān.*

(ii) The same authority also notes "*dēs'ādi samaya-dharmasyā pi dharmas'āstra avirōdasya dharmas'āstra-viṣayatvāt na prathak upādhānam* and quotes

(iii) *Nija dharma avirōdhēna yastu sāmayikōbhavēt sō'pi yatnēna samrakṣyō dharmō rājakṛitas'ca yaḥ* (Yaj. II. 186).

(iv) *Pāribhāṣika dharmēṇa vyavasthānam samayaḥ.*

(v) Manu VI. *Vv.* 219-20. *Yō grāma-dēs'a-saṅghānām kṛitvā satyēna samvidam, visamvadhēt narō yō lōbhāt taṁ rāṣṭrāt vipravāsayēt nigṛihya dāpayēt ca ēnam samaya-vyabhicāriṇam.*

See that *samaya* is equated with *samvada*, in the above.

(vi) Brihaspati (S. B. E. XVII.p.5)

Grāma-s'rēṇi-gaṇānām ca saṁkētaḥ samayakṛiyā.

Having made clear that by *samaya-dharma* is meant the transaction of a rural administrative body (and that it has not any exclusive reference to religion) and shown that it has the same force as the king's own enactment both from the *dharmas'āstras* and from internal evidence in the introduction of this inscription, any lingering doubt, as regards Provincial Assembly's functioning in the place of the king in the country, may be dispelled by the employment of the term *rājyaparipālakānām* to this assembly.

(*To be concluded*)

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(INDIA).

REVIEWS

Ethnography of Ancient India. By Robert Shafer. With 2 maps. Published by Messrs. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden. Price. DM.20.

THIS work which is devoted to the study of the names appearing in the great epic of India, the Mahābhārata, is very valuable for students of Indian history, legend, tradition and political problems of the country. Any reader of the Mahābhārata will be tempted to go a little farther to identify the different places referred to in that great epic. It is a far larger work than the Rāmāyaṇa even which makes it difficult for the reader to identify the places mentioned in it. The late T. Paramashiva Iyer tried to identify the various places visited by S'rī Rāmachandra during his search for Sīta. No such work has been undertaken on any scientific lines regarding the places, nations, tribes or regions exceeding 300 mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

The Mahābhārata is said to be an account of tribal warfare as well as of native rebellion against foreign exploitation. Shafer considers that the discoveries at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and elsewhere contra-indicate the tradition of the civilisation of India by the Āryans and regards that the invading Āryans found at the time of their entry into India a culture superior to their own and that men were living in fortified cities and towns. While the Āryan Pāṇḍavas and their supporters had finally won, they were in such a weakened condition that something was needed to bolster their tottering sway. The ṛṣis, their hired publicity men outdid some of our modern broadcasters, he says, and adds, that the Mahābhārata was an apologia for the extermination of the Kṣatriyas and for the sufferings brought about by the war against the rebellious natives, except for extraneous later insertions. The basis or the authorities for the classification given

by the author is not apparent. The ethnographic and the linguistic map of India during the period of the Mahābhārata war is based on the situation of the non-Āryan peoples or languages of today and the information that can be gleaned from the Mahābhārata itself or from later sources. Shafer does not take the genealogies as literally as Pargiter but considers the earlier generations as eponymous ancestors of the race in the manner of the biblical attempt of the tribes of Israel at classification by dividing people into *Saudyumnas, Mānavas, Āyava (Aila) Āmāvasava, Yādavas, Haihayas, Ānavas, Kaikeyas, Taurvasavaṣ*, etc. He believes that there is numismatic evidence suggesting the existence of a Greek colony in some outlying province of India about 550 B.C. and also pointing to the existence of a Greek colony on the frontiers of India even before the invasion of Alexander. The Āryan migration into India has been considered in great detail. If students of Indo-European toponomy are looking to the East for the homeland of the Greeks and Hittites, perhaps we shall not be too bold in suggesting that the evidence of the Indic and Greek sources indicating the existence of the Greeks in India before Alexander should be further investigated. The people of Nusa named a mountain above the city 'thigh' because of Dionysos birth, according to Arrian. But was that the reason for the name, or was it named after Mount Meru which had been forgotten ? India before the Mahābhārata war is described by Shafer on pages 47 *et seq*. We find traces of the *Yādavas* on the fringe of a vast area in the west: the *Vāṭadhāna* and the *S'ālva* and the subdivisions of the latter along the *S'atadru* ; then the *Kukura, Andhaka, S'ūrasēna, Abhīṣāha, Paṭaccara* and *Us'īnara* between the Dṛṣadvati and the Ganges ; below there Mathura, and the former Yādava kingdom of Cedi along the south bank of the Yamuna ; and to the east *Jaṭhara, Kaukura, Bhoja* and *Das'ārṇa* then coming west along the *Purna* were *Niṣadha* and *Vidarbha* ; and along the west coast, *Daṇḍaka, Surāṣṭra, Nairṛta* and along the lower Indus, *Ānarta* and *Anūpa*. Within this peripheral area were the *Haihayas*, the younger branch of the *Yādavas*, along the Vindhyas. There is little doubt that the *Yādavas* and *Haihayas* had once been the chief power west and south of the

Yamunā. The author says that the Āryans knew very little beyond India. This is open to question. If this is so *Bāhlīka* was not Balkh, *Cīna* not China and *Roman* not Roman. In the appendix is given the location of sites and tribes. The Geography, the *Digvijayas*, *Dyuta*, tribute to the Pāṇḍavas; Army Arrays, regional groups, state of Āryanization are all given in the lists. The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata edited by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, is also used in preparing the list. The index to the appendix and the text has been arranged in alphabetical order and is helpful. The author has taken a great deal of trouble and we congratulate him on the care bestowed in the preparation of this commendable undertaking.

S.S.

The Aboriginal Races of India. By S. S. Sarkar. Published by Bookland, Ltd., 1, Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 12-0-0.

INDIA may not be the world's anthropological museum nor can it claim a pride of place in the search for man's ancestors. The skeletal remains found in Europe as far back as the eighties of the last century are subject to very serious criticisms by leading anthropologists of the world in recent times. It will be very difficult to lay much positive stress on the skeletal remains found in Java or in Peking or in Rodhesia. The south Indian rocks may be among the oldest crust of the earth, perhaps far older than the northern plains of the Indian peninsula or the young and growing Himālayas.

The aboriginal races and the ethnic groups and tribes found scattered in the different parts of India have been studied for nearly a century and among the contributions to our knowledge may be mentioned with grateful remembrarce the '*Man-in-India*' alongside with the world's leading anthropological Journal '*Man*.' As Dr. Ghurye has pointed out (*QJMS*. Vol. XXVII. pp. 291-329) the use of anthropometric techniques was made by Sir Herbert Risley, primarily for elucidating the connection between race and caste, and

secondarily, for determining the racial constitution of India. Fresh anthropological survey intended to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the ethnic constitution of India was undertaken by Dr. Guha in connection with the Census of 1931. The critical survey of Dr. Guha's work will be found in the valuation of the Census Contribution to the Racial Analysis of India made by him and published in the *QJMS.* already referred to. Risley had measured very few castes from Gujarat and Kathiawar. none from Central India proper and the political divisions of Central Provinces and Berar or any of the Brāhmin communities from the Telugu region while his survey included a number of Marāṭhi castes from the Bombay Presidency and the Hindusthani castes from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Guha's survey included the measurements of three Gujarati castes not covered by Risley's measurement, three Central Indian Castes and measurements of Telugu Brāhmins without distinction of sub-castes. He dropped off the average measurements of three castes, Kunbi-Patidar, Bhil and Kadar in his tables. No measurements were taken on the Punjab and Bihar castes. Various comments and criticisms have been made on the quantum, as well as the nature of Dr. Guha's work and it is not our purpose to refer to it in the present context. Interested readers are referred to Dr. Ghurye's article referred to already.

It is well-known that the recent discoveries of the Indus Valley Civilisation at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa discount the conception of India as being largely isolated from the rest of Asia and inhabited entirely by barbarians prior to the Āryan invasion of India about 1,500 B.C. or earlier. For as long a time as one could judge, the North-West India (now perhaps forming a part of Pakistan) was in the occupation of a long-headed race with high cranial vaults, long-face and narrow prominent nose. Side by side, existed another powerfully built race also long-headed, but with lower cranial vaults and equally long-faced and narrow nosed though the latter was not so high pitched as that of the former. A third type with broader head and apparently Armenoid affinities also existed but their advent occurred probably somewhat

later judged by the age of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. The presence at Bayana of a small, long and moderately high vaulted skull with prominent nose seems to indicate that a drift of this race eastwards had taken place even earlier and the whole of the Indo-Gangetic basin seems to have been in its occupation as early as these times. They had not penetrated into Southern India at this early period. Later on in the Iron Age, the peninsula seems to have been occupied by a long but high-skulled race with low broad face and nose, resembling the Combe-Capelle type and it was conjectured that the same people had introduced this culture into India in neolithic times but they were driven from North-West India into Central and Eastern India whence they migrated southwards.

The old skeletal remains furnish very little evidence of the Negrito race in India but the skull of a victim of human sacrifice found in a cairn at Jewurgi is unmistakably Negroid. The Australoid type found suggests they were the Niśadas of the Vedic Āryans and Niśadic is more appropriate than pre-Dravidian, proto-Australoid and Vedoloid to describe them. As I have mentioned elsewhere (*QJMS* Vol.XXVI.pp.285-286) the Combe-Capelle type or race closely allied to it entered India probably with that culture as early as neolithic times and that forms the bulk of the population of the peninsula and a considerable portion of Northern India. The long-headed Mediterranean race constituted the major part of the Indus Valley in chalcolithic times. In the upper classes of Northern India another strain with undoubted northern affinities is clearly discernible. The upper classes of Northern India retain the nordic characters of stature, head and nose forms without the fair tint of the skin. The invasion of the Alpine race from the Pamir regions postulated by Ram Prasad Chanda was not accepted in the light of discoveries of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. Eickstedt's results were also criticised by Dr. Guha.

Dr. S. S. Sarkar in his excellent compendium on the Aboriginal Races of India has assessed very vividly the accumulated data since the publication of the Census Report of 1931 on the

ethnic position of the Indian Aboriginal tribes and considers that they are the autochthones or the indigenous population of this land. India was no vacuum to be filled in by emigration from outside. It is untrue that there is no evolution of race here in India. I join Dr. Sarkar in his remarks that there has been recently no investigation on the lines suggested by Sir Arthur Keith. We are obliged to the two chapters included in Sarkar's survey. The first is a translation into English from the original German of Professor Eugen Fischer and the second, the reprint of Sir Arthur Keith's article on the Racial Affinities of Peoples of India. It must be agreed that the aborigines have very properly influenced the cultural heritage of the modern races of India and the present Government of India deserve commendable praise for its attempt to uplift the *ādivāsis* by every possible encouragement. The human remains discovered in the Indus Valley and other archæological sites have not furnished yet much information about the pre-Veddid stage. As I have said before Risley gave Indian Anthropology a methodical start, He followed Topinard's system of measurement and his data is preferred as being free from incongruities of the later Census according to Dr. Sarkar and I should think very properly. If we remember that Risley was working before the re-discovery of the Mendelian laws, it will be realised what good work has been done by him and what remarkable data has been furnished by him for a morphological and comparative study. We appeal to the Government of India to undertake on a scientific and expansive scale the preparation of lists of the aboriginal tribes, their accurate census, their geographical distribution and anthropometric and ethnographic surveys.

Any principle of classification suffers by calculating one or two characteristics only for purposes of comparative grouping. Human groups with woolly hair or wavy hair or straight hair or the eye colour or the formation and shape of the nose by themselves do not furnish sufficient material for conclusive remarks for hereditary differences in the form of the human hair, colour of the skin, hair and eye, stature, form of the head, face and nose and such other

things vary as the corresponding characters of rabbits, mice, guinea-pigs, dogs and such other domestic animals. Mutations in human characters occur in different degrees at different periods and generations and they may originate independently also. Systematic racial characters appearing in groups may be unrelated from one another. Professor Fischer would undertake an investigation for the classification of the systemic races broadly speaking like this. To start with he would accept the polyphyletic origin of man with the Mendelian hereditary factors. Thus at one stage mankind was unitary with the same fundamental conditions of the hereditary factors originating out of an anthropoid stock. He would then reconstruct the uniform characters of these primitive men from the existing knowledge of the comparative anatomy of the anthropoids from the fosssil finds of Pithecanthropus, Neanderthals and lastly in accordance with the definite morphological characters of the modern races, say, when the characters are distinguished as homogeneous, their phenotypical variabilities around a given average should not naturally be denied or overlooked. In this common gene set-up such mutations appear as can be proved according to the mendelian methods unrelated in time and space, conceiving of the gene easily and always capable of doing so. Selection, the process of isolation and the occurrence of one and the same mutation are probably indispensible conceptions. The experimentally induced mutations in fixed directions which Jollos has successfully performed probably open the way to complete explanation. From the standpoint of a monophyletic origin of man and a polyphyletic origin of the individual systemic races it will be seen that the larger individual group stems differ from such other groups not through a single, but through quite a large number of mutations in fixed combinations which go to prove their homogeneity. The four stems are taken up each with peculiar combinations of characters as originating independently out of the preceding primitive mankind. The four stems are the Negrito the Australiod, the European and the Mongolian and the occurrence of one and the same mutation at different places of these stems shows the possibility of two or more exactly same

combinations arising but they are extraordinarily infrequent and become more improbable if the combinations are bigger and more peculiar. The spiral hair factor, the pigmy factor, brachycephaly factor, strongly elevated convex nose and the pigment factor of the skin are pictured out as amongst the most important characteristics which will help in distinguishing broadly the different races of mankind. There is a certain limit to the classification and subdivision of the human races systematically on the basis of an individual character and the limit is what has been adopted by Professor Fischer. Sir Arthur Keith says in Chapter II that Dr. Guha's samples of the population examined were in the North-Western Himālayan region, the Gangetic plain, Central India and Guzarat, Peninsular India, North-Eastern India and Assam. Altogether 2,511 individuals were examined by Dr. Guha himself representing 34 racial groups, 14 of which were Brāhmins, 16 various Hindu castes and 4 tribesmen. He made use of the data which had been gathered during earlier anthropological forays into several regions of the country. The most outstanding result of Dr. Guha's survey was the discovery that the peoples of India were brachycephalic to a much greater extent than had hitherto been suspected. He thinks that it extended from the Pamirs and that it descends through Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Sindh and then extends continuously along the west, broadening out from Bombay so as to include almost the whole of the Deccan sweeping across the peninsula so as to include southern Madras. Only a small area in the south is left as dolichocephalic which lies along the Malabar coast. From the esatern end of the Himālayas the brachycephalic area passes from Bhutan and Tibet southwards, through Assam, to spread over Bengal and to end in Orissa. Thus all that is left of the dolichocephalic expanse is a central core broad at the base, where it extends across the Indo-Gangetic plain from Sindh to Bengal, sending a southward extension between Orissa and the Deccan to end north of Mysore. Only in Madras and in the isolated area in Travancore do the dolichocephals reach the sea. This description gives us a revolutionary conception of the anthropology of India. According to the present evidence the inhabitants of the Mohenjo Daro were predominantly dolichoceph-

aplic and big-headed indicating perhaps that western India had been invaded from countries lying to the west and north of the Indus by sea as well as by land. The racial composition of the peoples of India are said to comprise a type represented by the Telugu Brāhmins an essential and prevalent Indian type, a type represented by the Nagar Brāhmins and a type represented by the Pathan, taller and less pigmented than the earlier two types and a type which differs from the first type in having a small nose, short wide face, black hair, wavy or curly hair predominant among the tribes of Cêntral and Southern India akin to the Veddahs and to the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, apparently a product of the hills. It may be that this type yielded the first type, but varying from the fourth type which is best seen in the Kadars and Pulayans of the South. A brachycephalic Mongoloid type represented by the Bhutanese occurs along the foothills of the Himālaya from Kashmir to Assam. Another Mongoloid type which differs from the preceding one in the head being long rather than round with more prominent nasal development than the previous one is cited in the Angami Nāgas and the chief factor in producing the racial turmoil in India was the introduction of the art of agriculture.

The most important contribution of Dr. Sarkar is that relating to the native population of the aboriginal tribes of India who are called pre-Dravidian, Australoid-Veddic or Nis'ada. Sarkar attempts to examine the Australiod affinities and along with it the Veddic affinities of some of the aboriginal tribes of India. He considers that the Veddas crossed over from India to Ceylon where they still exist. Veddid 'pockets are found in Hadhramaut in Southern Arabia and in Persia to the west of India, the Shom Pen of the Great Nicobar, the Sakai of Malay Peninsula and elsewhere in the east of India. With South India as centre the Veddas fanned out both to the east and west and they appear at one time to have been more widespread than now. Regarding the evolutionary order of the two fundamental racial stems of mankind Sarkar places the Australiod first in the line of evolution. Fischer thinks and postulates the mutation of the woolly hair of the Negroids, from the smooth, wavy hair of the people prior to the Negro as undoubted

and this view is accepted by Sewell and Howell. Australoid types of crania have been found in the Indus Valley sites dating from 3,5C0 B. C. Three crania of the proto-Australiod type are found amongst the skeletal remains of Mohenja Daro. Harappa has yielded many more skeletal remains than Mohenjo Daro. At Aditanallur in the Tinnevelly district nine skulls were found conforming to the Veddah type according to Dr. Guha in Chapter XVI of Pre-Historic India but in his recent paper he says that they belong to the Proto-Australoid type. Zuckerman and Elliot Smith say one of them is unmistakably Australoid. The actual comparison of the Australian physical features with some of the Australoids in India has been made by Sarkar and he regards that the Australian and the Vedda show close resemblances in respect of head height, horitzontal circumference of the head, minimum frontal diameter, nasal height and cephalic index and the Chenchu resembles the Australian in head breadth, nasal height, total facial height, cephalic index, length and height index, showing a five point resemblance with the Australian. The Vedda has a eight point resemblance with the Chenchu and the Kannikar each. The Paniyans whose blood groups picture have been so widely and rightly compared with the Australian blood groups have not been subjected to serious study and Sarkar thinks that they appear to be the truest representatives of the Veddas in South India who are the products of the soil. The necessity of morphological treatment from individual point of human skeleton to show the variations in respect of bones could not be gainsaid and Sarkar has with commendable patience and industry made this study. Before Australia was known anthropologically, Topinard believed that there were woolly-haired peoples among the Australian aborigines and De Quatrefages also held the same view. Turner's craniological studies also led to the same conclusion. Keane became an ardent supporter of the Negrito substrarun sponsored by De Quatrefages and suggested in chronological order the arrival of the various races of India. He identified the Veddas of Ceylon, the Paniyans of Wynad, the Kadars and Malsars of Coimbatore and Cochin, the Kurumbas and Irulas of the Nilgiris, the Malayalis, Pallis, Shanars, Katumaratis of the Salem district,

the Vellalas of Madura as possessing Negroid traits. Risley denied the presence of any woolly hair in India. Haddon reduced the long list of Keane into one, namely, the Kadar but had his own doubts about the correctness of the Negrito orign. The one fact which weighs most strongly against the belief that the jungle people are of Negritoid origin is their general dolichocephaly according to Dudley Buxton. Hutton attempted to substantiate on physical, cultural and traditional grounds a Negrito substratum in the population of Assam. Von Eickstedt more than once has protestested against the Negrito racial strain in India. According to him, genuine Negro frizzy hair naturally never has been found in South India, but spiral hair, the relation of which to the hair forms of other contact races like the Melanesids was already pointed by him in 1929. The problem probably could only arise because the distinguishing words, spiral, woolly or frizzy, had been applied in a vague manner. Sarkar does not agree with the conclusions drawn by Dr. Guha from his references to woolly, frizzy and spiral hair as he draws inferences from isolated instances nor does he agree with Dr. Guha's remarks that they are from amongst the Toda women. Perhaps these are interesting exceptions as Keith would have it and Schebesta a famous authority on the Negritos warns against the acceptance of the views of Risley and Guha without further research. There are many other matters of very great interest relating to the skeletal remains and the origin of pygmy forms or dwarfisms which require careful and detailed study. In the linguistic survey of India the Munda language has received great attention. Here the author has taken the Munda problem with reference to the Munda-Dravidian affinites. The Mundas appear to be confining themselves along the large river valleys of Eastern-Central India. The Khasis of Assam are the only representatives of the Mon-Khmer linguistic family and a possible relationship with the Munda language has been stressed by the Schmidt school. If India is the origin of mutation of blood groups the blood group picture of India which is the evolutionary point of view must be studied with greater care. Sarkar has collated, according to racial groups already formulated, the blood group data and has discussed their

inter-relationships. The Negritos and the Australoids agree with one another in their high contents of the *p* gene. There is very great possibility of the Negritos originating from the Australoids and it appears therefrom, that while there has been changes in the morphology of the hair, head and physique, the blood groups probably remain unaltered. Populations exposed to the influences of inter-mixture, isolation or inbreeding are likely to show varying gene frequencies within the same group and at different intervals of time. Finger prints studied as a racial character or as a character of hereditary variation is still in its infancy.

We congratulate the author on this excellent book on the Aboriginal Races of India. The illustrations, diagrams, tables and charts add to the great value of the book.

S. S.

The Mahābhārata : Critical Edition. S'āntiparvan. Mōkṣhadharma. Part 3. Fascicule 24. Edited by S. K. Belvalkar. Price Rs. 50-0-0.

Droṇaparvan. Part 1. Fascicule 25. Edited by S. K. De. Price Rs. 42-0-0.

Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

THIS fascicule No. 24 concludes the constituted text of S'āntiparvan. But part of the Appendix I of additional passages found in different manuscripts too long for inclusion in the footnotes and the other Appendices and the introduction remain over for fascicule 26. We shall await its publication for a general and comprehensive review of S'āntiparvan, fasicules 18 and 19 to 24. Meantime we congratulate the Parvan-editor who is also the General Editor, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar for the great care and thoroughness of the work and the completion of this long, comprehensive and valuable parvan. S'āntiparvan is verily a guide to human conduct, individual, social, political and spiritual. The constituted text consists of 353 adhyāyas and covers 2,014 pages. There are 915 starred passages in the footnotes, and 31 Appendices for Appendix I. Two

passages of this parvan are quoted by S'rī S'aṅkaracārya in his Bhāṣhya on Brahma Sutras and three in his Bhāṣhya on Bṛahadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. The following quotations will be of interest :—

P. 1629 Vaṣiṣṭa to Karāla Janaka.

एकत्वं दर्शनं चास्य नानात्वं चाप्यदर्शनम्।
तत्त्वनिस्तत्त्वयोरेतत्पृथगेव निदर्शनम्॥

P. 1644.

ममेत्वमनया नित्यमहंकारकृतात्मकम्।
अपेत्याहमिमां हित्वा संश्रयिष्ये निरामयम्॥

P. 1698 Yājñavalkya to Janaka.

प्राप्य ज्ञानं ब्राह्मणात्क्षत्रियाद्वा वैश्याच्छूद्रादपि नीचादभीक्षणम्।
श्रद्धातव्यं श्रद्दधानेन नित्यं न श्रद्धिनं जन्ममृत्यू विशेताम्॥

Knowledge should be acquired from any one who has realised it, irrespective of caste.

P. 1709. Janaka to Sulabha.

सेयं परमिका बुद्धिः प्राप्ता निर्द्वंद्वतामया।
इहैव गतमोहेन चरता मुक्तसंगिना॥

P. 1744. Vyāsa to Suka.

श्वःकार्यमद्य कुर्वीत पूर्वाह्णे चापराह्णिकम्।
को हि तद्वेद कस्याद्य मृत्युसेना निवेक्ष्यति॥

Procrastination should be avoided and all work done in advance of due time, lest death should overtake one.

P. 1772.

सर्वस्तरतु दुर्गाणि सर्वो भद्राणि पश्यतु।
श्रावयेच्चतुरो वर्णान्कृत्वा ब्राह्मणमग्रतः।

All castes should be instructed श्रावयेत् so that every one may cross the mountains, and have happiness.

P. 1782. Nārada to Suka.

आनृशंस्यं परो धर्मः क्षमा च परमं बलम्।
आत्मज्ञानं परं ज्ञानं न सत्याद्विद्यते परम्॥

There is one instance in which we do not see why the constituted text prefers a 'less than certain' word स्थितिः for the term श्रुतिः found in Kashmiri, Bengali, Devanagari, Telugu, Grantha and Malayalam recensions. The full verse is :—

P. 1939.

कथं नाम भवेद्द्वेष्य आत्मा लोकस्य कस्यचित् ।
आत्मा हि पुरुषव्याघ्र ज्ञेयो विष्णुरिति स्थितिः ॥

Another instance where a variant prevailed owing to an anxiety to justify हिंसा in sacrifices while the general prevailing text advocated अहिंसा is noted in page 1878 :—

अहिंसा धर्मसंयुक्ता प्रचरेयुः सुरोत्तमाः but one Telugu manuscript two Grantha manuscripts and three Malayalam manuscripts read हिंसा-श्चधर्मसयुक्ता. The longest passage included in Appendix I is the *Dakṣa sahasranāma Stuti* to Rudra found also in Vāyu Purāṇa and Brahma Purāṇa.

Professor De has already edited the Udyoga Parvan, Volume VI, fascicules 9 and 10 of the Critical Edition. This fascicule No. 25 contains the first 49 Adhyāyas corresponding to the first 51 Adhyāyas of the Bombay and Kumbakonam editions and takes the narrative to the end of Abhimanyu's death. The number of starred passages is large, being 342 so far. The next nineteen adhyāyas in most manuscripts give the legends of Mṛtyu, Sṛñyaja, and his son Suvarṇaṣṭhīvin and the Sodaṣa Rājakīya; which are found in the S'āntiparvan also. They are reserved by Prof. De for Appendix I. The Droṇaparvan critical edition is based on an examination and collation of 61 manuscripts of which 26 are rejected as redundant or not useful. Only 35 manuscripts are referred to in the critical apparatus and the footnotes. We reserve a full review till the appearance of the complete appendices and the final introduction.

A.V.R.

ADDITIONS TO LIBRARY

(From 1.1.1955 to 15.4.1955)

Books, pamphlets and reports

Aboriginal Races of India: The—, By Dr. S. S. Sarkar.
(FROM: *Bookland, Ltd. Calcutta, for Review in QJMS*)

Bhāratīya Samskriti (Kannada) By Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri. M.A.,D.Litt.
(FROM: *The author for Review in QJMS*)

China Will Liberate Taiwan
(FROM: *The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India*)

Ethnography of Ancient India (with 2 maps). By Robert Shafer
(FROM: *Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden, for review in QJMS*)

Folk Songs of Karnātak (Kannada). (ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಜಾನಪದ ಗೀತೆಗಳು). Edited by Vidyāratna R. S. Panchamukhi.
(FROM: *The Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. In Exchange*)

Geology of Chaco Canyon: The—, New Mexico in Relation to the Life and Remains of the Prehistoric Peoples of Pueblo Bonito (with 11 plates). Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections Volume 122. No. 7. By Kirk Bryan
(FROM: *The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. In Exchange*)

Indian Chronological Tables (*Jantri*)—Giving equivalents of year in different Eras.
(From: *The Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. In Exchange*)

Indian Historical Records Commission:
Summary of Papers for the Thirty-first Session, Mysore. January 1955.

Catalogue of Exhibits at the Exhibition at Mysore, 25th to 27th January 1955.

(FROM : *The Local Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, Mysore*)

Kannada Linguistics : Some Problems in—, By C. R. Sankaran, M.A.

Karnātak Inscriptions Volume III, Part 1 (with Introductory Notes in English). Edited by Vidyāratna R.S. Panchamukhi, M.A.

Madana Tilakam by Chandrarāja Kavi (Kannada) (ಚಂದ್ರರಾಜಕವಿ ವಿರಚಿತಂ ಮದನತಿಲಕಂ). Edited by Vidyāratna R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A.

(FROM : *The Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. In Exchange*)

Maimonides, The Conciliator of Eastern and Western Thought. Transaction No. 21 of the Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore. By David Baumgardt.

(FROM : *The Indian Institute of Culture. In Exchange*)

Mahābhārata : The—, Critical Edition. Karṇaparvan Part 2. Fascicule 27. Edited by P. L. Vaidya.

(FROM : *The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4. For Review in QJMS*)

Nāgapaṭṭinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum : The—, By T. N. Ramachandran. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. New Series. General Section. Volume VII Number 1.

(FROM : *The Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. In Exchange*)

National Archives of India :

Annual Report for the year 1953.

A Quinquennial Review 1948—1952.

Bulletin of Research Theses and Dissertations (in the Union of India) January 1955. No. 1.

(FROM : *The Local Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, Mysore*)

Road to Welfare State

(FROM : *The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India*)

Sārdha-S'atābdhī Celebrations (150th Anniversary) of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(FROM : *The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*)

Smithsonian Institution. Report of the Secretary and the Financial Report of the Executive Committee of the Board of Regents, 1953.

Songs and Stories of the Ch'uan Miao (with 24 plates). Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Volume 123. No. 1.
By David Crockett Graham.

(FROM : *The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U. S. A. In Exchange*)

What has Religion Done for Mankind.

(Purchased)

Periodicals

Acta Orientalia. Tomus III Fascicule 3.

Asia. Numbers 15 and 16. December 1954 and March 1955.

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American Oriental Society : Journal of the—, Volume 74 Number 3. July—September 1954.

Supplement. Number 17. Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient. By J. A. Wilson and others.

Bihar Research Society : Journal of the—, Volume XL Part 3. September 1954.

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Numbers 1 and 2. June and December 1952: Volume 38 Numbers 1 and 2. June and December 1953: and Volume 39 Number 1. June 1954.

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Mysore Economic Review. Volume 40 Number 12. December 1954 and Volume 41 Numbers 1 to 3. January to March 1955.

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Prabuddha Karnātaka. (Kannada) *Jaya samvastarada Puṣya sancike.* ಜಯ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಸಂಚಿಕೆ. Vol. XXXVI. No. 4.

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Visva Bhārati Quarterly. Volume XX Number 2. Autumn 1954.

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Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Mythic Society for the year ending 30th June 1954.

Particulars of Receipts	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Government of Mysore Grants:						
General Grant	2,400	0	0			
Library Grant	300	0	0	2,700	0	0
Subscriptions:						
Ordinary Subscriptions	581	4	11			
Life Membership Subscription	100	0	0	681	4	11
Interest and Dividend	584	12	0			
Sales of Journals and Publications	891	1	6			
Advertisements	40	0	0			
Rent and Hall Charges	2,448	8	0			
Miscellaneous	62	12	6	4,027	2	0
Bank Charges recovered	3	0	0			
Provident Fund Subscription from Staff	155	10	0			
Light Charges recovered	96	0	0			
Postage recovered	152	3	0			
				406	13	0
				7,815	3	11
Opening Balance on 1st July 1953				3	4	6
				7,818	8	5
Overdraft at the Bank Mysore, Ltd., on 30th June 1954				1,929	11	7
TOTAL Rs.				9,748	4	0

Particulars of Expenditure	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment:						
Pay to Staff	1,796	0	0			
Light Charges	111	6	0			
Water Charges	28	7	0			
Provident Fund Subscription by Staff as per contra	155	10	0			
" " Contribution by Society	74	12	0			
Honorarium to Auditor	50	0	0			
Premises Repairs	290	5	6			
Garden	33	8	0			
Livery to Servants	88	1	0			
Cycle Repairs etc.	43	14	9			
Furniture Repairs	78	0	0			
Electric Accessories	5	4	3	2,755	4	6
Journal:						
Paper and Printing	2,376	4	9			
Postage	672	1	9			
Conveyance Charges	36	12	6	3,085	3	0
Library:						
Books Purchased	296	12	0			
Book Binding	65	12	0			
Subscription to Newspapers and Periodicals	202	8	0			
Miscellaneous	434	11	0	999	11	0
Expenses on Lectures	322	1	3			
Stationery	193	15	9			
Bank Charges including Interest on Overdraft	113	3	0	629	4	0
				7,469	6	6
Overdraft at the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., on 30th June 1953				2,252	8	6
				9,721	15	0
Cash on hand on 30th June 1954				26	5	0
TOTAL Rs.				9,748	4	0

Reserve Fund (*at face value*)

	Rs.	A.	P
Government of Mysore 4% Stock 1953-63	9,800	0	0
Government of Mysore 5% Stock	1,500	0	0
Debentures of the Mysore Central Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank, Ltd.	1,800	0	0
National Savings Certificates due on 26-3-1958	700	0	0
Fixed Deposit in the Bank of Mysore Ltd.	300	0	0
Fixed Deposit in the State Huzur Treasury	400	0	0
Three Shares in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd.	300	0	0
TOTAL Rs.	14,800	0	0

Bangalore 17th January 1955.

Certified Correct

T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,

Chartered Accountant.

S. SRIKANTAYA

General Secretary & Treasurer.

The Mythic Society

(Founded in 1909)

(Registered Under Act III of 1904)

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